

A CONCISE
H I S T O R Y
OF
E N G L A N D.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES,

To the Death of GEORGE II.

By JOHN WESLEY, A.M.

V O L. IV.

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HISTORY

OF THE

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A CONCISE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

WILLIAM III.

* **T**HE constitution, upon the accession of William to the crown, took a different form from what it had before. As his right to the crown was chiefly from the choice of the convention, they loaded the benefit with whatever stipulations they thought requisite. The convention called themselves the representatives of the nation, and made a claim of rights, which, previous to his coronation, William was obliged to confirm.

This declaration of rights maintained, that the suspending and dispensing powers, as exercised by king James, were unconstitutional;

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* Feb. 14. A. D. 1689.

tutional; that all courts of ecclesiastical commission, the levying money, or maintaining a standing army in times of peace, without consent of parliament; that grants of fines and forfeitures before conviction, and juries of persons not qualified, or not fairly chosen, were unlawful. It asserted the freedom of election to parliament, the freedom of speech in parliament, and the right of the subject to petition his sovereign. It provided, that excessive bails should not be required, excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted; and it concluded with an injunction that parliaments should be frequently assembled. Such was the bill of rights, calculated to secure the liberties of the people; but having been drawn up in a ferment, it bears all the marks of haste and inattention.

William was no sooner on the throne, than he began to experience the difficulty of governing a people, who were more ready to examine the commands of their superiors, than to obey them. From the peaceful and tractable disposition of his own countrymen, he expected a similar disposition among the English; he hoped to find them ready to second his desire of humbling France, but he found them more apt to fear the invasion of their own liberties.

His reign commenced with a toleration to such dissenters as should take the oaths of allegiance. The papists themselves, who had every thing to fear, experienced the lenity of his government; and though the laws
against

against them were unrepealed, yet they were seldom put in execution. Thus what was criminal in James, became virtuous in his successor, as James wanted to introduce persecution, by pretending to disown it; while William had no other design, but to make religious freedom the test of civil security.

The revolution in England, had been brought about by a coalition of Whigs and Tories; but in Scotland it was effected by the Whigs almost alone. They soon came to a resolution that king James had, to use their own expression, *forfeited* his right to the crown, a term which, in the law-language of that country, excluded not only him, but all his posterity. They therefore quickly recognized the authority of William, and took that opportunity to abolish episcopacy, which had long been disagreeable to the nation. But lord Dundee, formerly Graham of Claverhouse, retired into the Highlands and raised forces. King William's forces met him at the pass of Gillierankin; but were soon broken. And Dundee, cased in steel, lifted up his arm, and swore a broad oath, He would not leave an Englishman alive that day. Just then a musket-ball struck him under the arm, on the joints of his armour, and he dropt down dead. So God avenged the blood of the poor, which he had shed like water.

Nothing now remained to the deposed king of all his former possessions but Ireland; and he had some hopes of maintaining his ground there, by the assistance which he was promised from France. Lewis XIV. had long been

at variance with William, and took every opportunity to obstruct his government. On the present occasion, he granted the deposed monarch a fleet and some troops, to assert his pretensions in Ireland.

On the other hand, William was not backward in warding off the threatened blow. The parliament, though divided in all things else, yet unanimously joined with him in this. A war was declared against France, and measures were pursued for driving James from Ireland, where he had landed, assisted rather by money than by forces, granted him from the French king.

On the seventh day of March, 1689, that unhappy monarch embarked at Brest, and on the twenty-second arrived at Kinsale; and soon after made his public entry into Dublin, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. He found the appearances of things equal to his most sanguine expectations. Tyrconnel, the lord lieutenant, was devoted to his interests; his old army was steady, and a new one raised, amounting together to near forty-thousand men. The protestants over the greatest part of Ireland were disarmed; while the papists, confident of success, received him with shouts of joy and superstitious processions, which gave him still greater pleasure.

In this situation, the protestants of Ireland underwent the most cruel indignities. Most of them were obliged to retire into Scotland and England, or accept written protections from their enemies. The bravest of them, however,

however, to the number of ten thousand men, gathered round Londonderry, resolved to make their last stand at that place, for religion and liberty. A few also rallied at Inniskillen; and afterward became more numerous by the junction of others.

James was pressed by his friends in England to settle the affairs of Ireland immediately, and bring over his army either to the north of England, or the west of Scotland, where it might be joined by his party, and act without delay; but his council dissuaded him from complying with their sollicitations until Ireland should be totally reduced. On the first alarm of an intended massacre, the protestants of Londonderry shut their gates, and resolved to defend themselves. They transmitted this resolution to the government of England, together with an account of the danger they incurred; and implored immediate assistance. They were accordingly supplied with some arms and ammunition: but did not receive any considerable re-inforcement till the middle of April, when two regiments arrived in Loughfoyl, under the command of Cunningham and Richards. By this time king James had taken Coleraine, invested Killmore, and was almost in sight of Londonderry. George Walker, rector of Donaghmore, who had raised a regiment for the defence of the protestants, conveyed this intelligence to Lundy the governor. This officer directed him to join colonel Grafton, and take post at the Long-causey, which he maintained a whole night against the advanced guard of the enemy, until being overpowered.

powered by numbers, he retreated to Londonderry, and exhorted the governor to take the field. Lundy assembling a council of war, at which Cunningham and Richards assisted, they agreed, that as the place was not tenable, it would be imprudent to land two regiments; and that the principal officers should withdraw from Londonderry, the inhabitants of which would obtain the more favourable capitulation in consequence of their retreat. An officer was immediately dispatched to King James, with proposals of a negotiation; and lieutenant general Hamilton agreed, that the army should halt at the distance of four miles from the town. Notwithstanding this, James advanced at the head of his troops; but met with such a warm reception from the besieged, that he was obliged to retire to St. John's town in disorder. The inhabitants and soldiers in garrison at Londonderry were so incited at the members of the council of war, who had resolved to abandon the place, that they threatened immediate vengeance. Cunningham and Richards retired to their ships; and Lundy locked himself in his chamber.

In vain did Mr. Walker and major Baker exhort him to maintain his government: such was his cowardice or treachery, that he absolutely refused; and he was suffered to escape in disguise, with a load of match upon his back: but he was afterwards apprehended in Scotland, from whence he was sent to London to answer for his perfidy or misconduct.

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After his retreat, the townsmen chose Mr. Walker and major Baker for their governors, with joint authority; but this office they would not undertake, until it had been offered to colonel Cunningham, as the officer next in command to Lundy. He rejected the proposal, and with Richards returned to England; where they were immediately cashiered. The two new governors thus abandoned, prepared for a vigorous defence; and indeed their courage seems to have transcended the bounds of discretion; for the place was very ill fortified; their cannon, which did not exceed twenty pieces, was wretchedly mounted; they had not one engineer to direct their operations; they had a very small number of horse; the garrison consisted of people unacquainted with military discipline; they were destitute of provisions; they were besieged by a king in person, at the head of a formidable army, directed by good officers, and supplied with all the necessary implements for a siege or battle. This town was invested on the twentieth day of April; the batteries were soon opened; and several attacks were made with great impetuosity; but the besiegers were always repulsed with considerable loss. The townsmen gained divers advantages in repeated sallies; and would have held their enemies in the utmost contempt, had they not been afflicted with a contagious distemper, and reduced to extremity for want of provision. They were even tantalized in their distress; for, they had the mortification to see some ships, which had arrived with supplies from England, prevented from sailing up the
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the river, by the batteries on both sides, and a boom which blocked up the channel. At length a reinforcement arrived in the Lough, under the command of general Kirk, who had deserted his master, and been employed in the service of king William. He found means to convey intelligence to Walker: but found it impracticable to sail up the river: he promised, however, that he would land a body of forces at the Inch, and endeavour to make a diversion in their favour, when joined by the troops at Inniskillen, which amounted to five thousand men, including two thousand cavalry. He said, he expected six thousand men from England, where they were embarked before they set sail. He exhorted them to persevere in their courage; and assured them he would come to their relief at all hazards. These assurances enabled them to bear their miseries a little longer, though their numbers daily diminished; and major Baker dying, his place was filled with colonel Micheburn, who now acted as colleague to Mr. Walker.

King James having returned to Dublin, to be present at the parliament, the command of his army devolved to the French general Rosene, who was exasperated at such an obstinate opposition by a handful of half starved militia. He threatened to raze the town to its foundations, and destroy the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, unless they would immediately submit. The governors treated his menaces with contempt, and published an order, that no person, on pain of death, should talk

talk of surrendering. They had now consumed the last remains of their provisions, and supported life by eating the flesh of horses, dogs, cats, rats, mice, tallow, starch, and salted hides; and even this loathsome food began to fail. Rosene finding them deaf to all his proposals, threatened to wreak his vengeance on all the protestants of that country, and drive them under the walls of Londonderry, where they should be suffered to perish by famine. He executed his threats with the utmost rigour. Parties of dragoons were dispatched on this cruel service, and after having stripped all the protestants for thirty miles round, they drove those unhappy people before them like cattle; without even sparing the enfeebled old men, nurses with infants at their breasts, tender children, women just delivered, and some even in the pangs of labour. Above four thousand of these miserable objects, were driven under the walls of Londonderry. This expedient, far from answering the purpose of Rosene, produced a quite contrary effect. The besieged were so exasperated at this act of inhumanity, that they resolved to perish rather than submit. They erected a gibbet in sight of the enemy, and sent a message to the French general, that they would hang all the prisoners they had taken during the siege, unless the protestants whom they had driven under the walls should be immediately dismissed. This threat produced a negotiation, in consequence of which the protestants were released, after they had been detained three days without tasting food. Some hundreds died of famine

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or fatigue ; and those who lived to return to their own habitations, found them plundered and sacked by the papists ; so that the greater number perished for want, or were murdered by the straggling parties of the enemy. Yet those very people had most of them obtained protections from king James !

The garrison was now reduced to five thousand seven hundred men ; and these were driven to the last extremity. In this emergency Kirk, who had hitherto lain unactive, ordered three ships laden with provision, covered by the Dartmouth frigate, to sail up the river. As soon as they set sail, the eyes of all were fixed upon them ; the besiegers eager to destroy, and the garrison as resolute for their defence. The foremost of the victuallers at the first shock broke the boom, but was stranded by the violence of her own shock. Upon this, a shout burst from the besiegers, which reached the camp and the city. They advanced with fury against a prize, which they considered as inevitable ; while the smoke of the cannon on both sides wrapped the whole scene in darkness. But to the astonishment of all, in a little time the victualler was seen emerging, having got off by the rebound of her own guns, and led up her little squadron to the walls of the town. The joy of the inhabitants at this unexpected relief, was only equalled by the rage and disappointment of the besiegers. The army of James was so dispirited, that they abandoned the siege in the night ; and retired with precipitation, after having lost above nine thousand men before the
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the place. Kirk no sooner took possession of the town, than Walker was prevailed on to embark for England, with an address of thanks to king William, for the seasonable relief they had received, who presented him with five thousand pounds.

The Inniskilleners were no less remarkable for their valour and perseverance. And indeed the bigotry and cruelty of the papists were sufficient to excite the tamest into opposition. The protestants, by an act of the popish parliament, under king James, were divested of those lands which they had been possessed of ever since the Irish rebellion. Three thousand of that persuasion, who had sought safety by flight, were found guilty of treason and attainted. Soldiers were permitted to live upon free quarter; the people were plundered, the shops of tradesmen, and the kitchens of the citizens, were pillaged, to supply a quantity of brass, which was converted into coin, and passed, by royal mandate, for above forty times its real value. Not content with this, he imposed, by his own authority, a tax of twenty thousand pounds a month on personal property, and levied it by a commission under the great seal. The pension allowed from the exchequer to the University of Dublin was cut off, and that institution converted into a popish seminary. Brigadier Sarsfield commanded all protestants of a certain district to retire to the distance of ten miles from their habitations on pain of death: many perished with hunger, still more by being forced from their homes, during the severest inclemencies of the season.

William at length perceived that his neglect of Ireland had been an error that required more than usual diligence to redress. He was afraid to send the late king's army to fight against him, and therefore ordered twenty-three new regiments to be raised. These, with two Dutch battalions, and four of French refugees, together with the Inniskilleners, were appointed for Ireland; and next to king William himself, the duke of Schomberg was appointed to command.

Schomberg had passed a life of above eighty years almost continually in the field. He was an excellent general; but he considered not the dangers which threatened the health of his troops by being confined to one place; especially in a low, moist camp, near Dundalk, almost without firing of any kind; so that the men fell into fevers and fluxes, and died in great abundance. The enemy were not less afflicted. Both camps remained for some time in sight of each other; and at last the rainy season approaching, they both, as if by mutual agreement, quitted their camps, and retired into winter-quarters: but not before half of the duke's army were lost.

The bad success of the campaign, and the miserable situation of the protestants in Ireland, induced king William to attempt their relief in person, at the opening of the spring; and accordingly he landed at Carrickfergus, where he found himself at the head of six and thirty thousand effective men, who were more than a match for the forces of James, although

although they amounted to above ten thousand more.

* William having received news that the French fleet was sailed for the coast of England, resolved, by speed and vigour, to prevent the impression which this might make upon the minds of his soldiers; and therefore hastened against James, who he heard had quitted Dublin, and stationed his army at Ardee and Dundalk.

All the measures taken by William were dictated by prudence and valour; those of his opponents by obstinacy and infatuation. They neglected to harraß him in his difficult march from the North; they neglected to oppose him at the strong pass at Newry. As he advanced they fell back first from Dundalk, and then from Ardee: at last, upon the twenty-ninth of June, they fixed their camp in a strong station, on the other side of the Boyne. Here both armies came in sight of each other, inflamed with all the animosities arising from religion, and revenge. The river Boyne at this place was fordable; but the banks were rugged, and rendered dangerous by old houses and ditches, which served to defend the latent enemy. William no sooner arrived, but he rode along the side of the river, to make proper observations upon the plan of battle. He then sat down. Meantime a cannon was privately brought, and planted against him, where he was sitting. The shot killed a man and two horses close to him; and he himself was wounded in the right shoulder. The

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* A. D. 1690.

news of his being slain was instantly propagated through the Irish camp, and was even sent off to Paris; but William, as soon as his wound was dressed, rode through the camp and quickly undeceived his army.

The proper dispositions being made, he rode through the army by torch light. Then he retired to his tent and continued in meditation till nine at night, when he summoned a council of war, in which he declared his resolution to force a passage over the river the next morning. The duke of Schomberg expostulated with him upon the danger of the undertaking; but finding his master inflexible, he retired to his tent with a discontented aspect. The king had given orders for his soldiers to distinguish themselves by wearing green boughs in their hats during the action.

At six o'clock in the morning, general Douglas, with young Schomberg, the earl of Portland, and Overkirk, marched towards Slane-bridge, and passed the river with very little opposition. When they reached the farther bank, they perceived the enemy drawn up in two lines, to a considerable number of horse and foot, with a morass in their front; so that Douglas was obliged to wait for a reinforcement. This being arrived, the infantry were led on the charge through the morass, while count Schomberg rode round it with his cavalry, to attack the enemy in flank. The Irish, instead of waiting the assault, faced about, and retreated towards Duleck, with precipitation; yet not so fast but Schomberg fell in with their rear, and did considerable execution. But
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king James reinforcing his left wing from the center, the Count was obliged to send for assistance. At this juncture king William's main body, consisting of the Dutch-guards, the French regiments, and some battalions of English, passed the river, which was waist-high, under a general discharge of artillery. King James had imprudently removed his cannon from the other side; but he had posted a strong body of musqueteers along the bank, behind hedges, houses, and some works raised for the occasion. They poured in a close fire upon the English troops before they reached the shore; but it produced very little effect; then the Irish gave way; and some battalions landed without farther opposition. Yet before they could form, they were charged with great impetuosity, by a squadron of the enemy's horse; and a considerable body of their cavalry and foot, commanded by general Hamilton, advanced from behind some little hillocks, to attack those that were landed, as well as to prevent the rest from reaching the shore. His infantry turned their backs and fled immediately; but the horse charged with incredible fury, both upon the land, and in the river, so as to put the unformed regiments in confusion. Then the duke of Schomberg passing the river in person, put himself at the head of the French protestants, and pointing to the enemy, "Gentlemen (said he) those are your persecutors." With these words he advanced to the attack, where he himself sustained a violent onset, from a party of Irish horse, which had broken through one of the regiments, and

were now on their return. They were mistaken for English, and allowed to gallop up to the duke, who received two severe wounds in the head; but the French regiments being now sensible of their mistake, rashly threw in their fire upon the Irish while they were engaged with the duke; and instead of saving, shot him dead upon the spot. The fate of this general had well nigh proved fatal to the English army, which was immediately in disorder; while the infantry of king James rallied, and returned to their posts with a face of resolution. They were just ready to fall upon the center, when king William having passed with the left wing, composed of Danish, Dutch, and Inniskillen horse, advanced to attack them on the right. They were struck with such a panic at his appearance, that they made a sudden halt, and then facing about, retreated to the village of Dunmore. There they made such a vigorous stand, that the Dutch and Danish horse, though headed by the king in person, recoiled. Even the Inniskilleners gave way, and that whole wing would have been routed, had not a detachment of dragoons dismounted, and lined the hedges on each side of the defile, through which the fugitives were driven. There they did such execution upon their pursuers, as soon checked their ardour. The horse which were broken, had now time to rally, and returning to the charge drove the enemy before them in their turn. In this action General Hamilton, who had been the life and soul of the Irish during the whole engagement, was wounded and
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taken: which so discouraged them, that they made no farther efforts. He was immediately brought to the king, who asked him, if he thought the Irish would make any further resistance? he replied, "Upon my honour, I believe they will; for they have still a good body of horse intire." William eying him with a look of disdain, repeated, "Your honour! Your honour!" but took no other notice of his having acted contrary to his engagement, when he was permitted to go to Ireland, on promise of persuading Tyrconnel to submit to the new government. The Irish now abandoned the field with precipitation; but the French and Swiss troops that acted as their auxiliaries, under Lauzun, retreated in good order, after having maintained the battle for some time with intrepidity and perseverance. As king William did not think proper to pursue the enemy the carnage was not great.

The Irish lost about fifteen hundred men, and the English about one third of that number; though the victory was dearly purchased, considering the death of the gallant duke of Schomberg, who fell in the eighty-second year of his age in military reputation. He was descended of a noble family in the Palatinate, and his mother was an English woman, daughter of lord Dudley. Being obliged to leave his country on account of the troubles, he commenced a soldier of fortune, and served successively in the armies of Holland, England, France, Portugal, and Brandenburgh. He attained to the dignities of

of mareschal in France, grandee in Portugal, generallissimo in Prussia, and duke in England. He professed the protestant religion; was courteous and humble in his deportment; cool, penetrating, resolute, and sagacious; nor was his probity inferior to his courage. This battle likewise proved fatal to Mr. Walker the clergyman, who had so valiantly defended Londonderry against the whole army of king James. He had been very graciously received by king William, who gratified him with a reward, and a promise of further favour; but he attended his royal patron in this battle; and being shot in the belly, died in a few minutes.

James, while his armies were yet fighting, quitted his station; and made the best of his way to Dublin. O'Regan, an old Irish captain, was heard to say upon this occasion, "If the English will exchange generals, we will fight the battle with them over again."

James advised the magistrates at Dublin to obtain the best terms they could, and then set out for Waterford, where he embarked for France, in a vessel fitted for his reception. Had he possessed either conduct or courage, he might still have headed his troops, and fought with advantage; but prudence forsook him with good fortune, and he deserted his affairs in the only place they were defensible.

His friends, however, were determined to second those interests which he himself had abandoned. Limerick, a strong city in the

the province of Munster, still braved all the attempts of William's army to reduce it. Sarsfield, an experienced general, put himself at the head of the army that had been routed at the Boyne, and went farther into the country to defend the banks of the river Shannon, where he resolved to await the enemy. But James appointed St. Ruth, a French general, to command over Sarsfield, which gave the Irish universal discontent, as it shewed the king could neither rely on their skill nor their fidelity. † On the other hand, general Ginckle, appointed to command the English in the absence of William, who was gone over to England, advanced with his forces to meet the enemy towards the Shannon, in order to pass that broad and dangerous river. The only place where it was fordable, was at Athlone, a strong walled town, built on both sides of the river. The part of the town on the hither side of the river was quickly taken sword in hand by the English; but the enemy had broke down an arch of the bridge in their retreat. Batteries were raised against the Irish town; and several unsuccessful attempts were made to force the passage of the bridge, which was defended with great vigour. At length it was resolved in a council of war, that a detachment should pass the ford, a little to the left of the bridge, though the river was deep and rapid, the bottom foul and stony, and the pass guarded by a bastion erected for that purpose. The forlorn hope consisted of grenadiers in armour, headed

† June 8, A. D. 1691.

headed by captain Sandys, and two lieutenants. They were seconded by another detachment; and this was supported by six battalions of infantry. Never was a more desperate service, nor was ever exploit performed with more valour and intrepidity. They passed twenty a-breast, in the face of the enemy, through an incessant shower of balls, bullets and grenades. Those who followed them took possession of the bridge, and laid planks over the broken arch. Pontoons were fixed at the same time, that the troops might pass in different places. The Irish were amazed, confounded; and abandoned the town in the utmost consternation; so that in half an hour it was wholly secured by the English, who did not lose above fifty men in this attack. Mackay, Tetteau, and Tolle-mache, exhibited proofs of the most undaunted courage in passing the river; and general Ginckle, for his conduct, intrepidity and success on this occasion, was created earl of Athlone. When St. Ruth was informed by express, that the English had taken the river, he said, it was impossible they should pretend to take a town which he covered with his army; and that he would give a thousand pistoles, they would attempt to force a passage. Sarsfield insisted upon the truth of the intelligence, and pressed him to send succours to the town; he ridiculed his officer's fears, and some warm expostulation passed between them. Being at length convinced that the English were in possession of the place, he ordered some detachments to drive them out again:

again; but, the cannon of their own works being turned against them, they found the task impracticable: and that very night their army decamped. St. Ruth, after a march of sixteen miles, took post at Aghrim, and having by draughts from garrisons augmented his army, to five and twenty thousand men, resolved to hazard a decisive engagement.

Ginckle having put Athlone in a posture of defence, passed the Shannon, and marched up to the enemy; determined to give them battle, tho' his forces did not exceed eighteen thousand; and the Irish were posted in a very advantageous situation. St. Ruth had made an admirable disposition, and taken every caution that military skill could suggest. His centre extended along a rising ground, uneven in many places, intersected with banks and ditches, joined by lines of communication, and fronted by a large bog almost impassable. His right was fortified with intrenchments, and his left secured by the castle of Aghrim. He harangued his army in the most pathetic strain, conjuring them to exert their courage, in defence of their holy religion, in the extirpation of heresy, in recovering their ancient honours and estates, and in restoring a pious king to the throne, from whence he had been expelled by an unnatural usurper. He employed the priests to enforce his exhortations, to assure the men that they might depend upon the prayers of the church; and that, in case they should fall in battle, the saints and angels would convey their souls to heaven. They are said to have sworn
upon

the sacrament, that they would not desert their colours, and to have received an order that no quarter should be given to the French heretics in the army of the prince of Orange. Ginckle had encamped on the Roscommon side of the river Suc, within three miles of the enemy; and, after having reconnoitred their posture, resolved with the advice of a council of war, to attack them on Sunday the twelfth day of July. The necessary orders being given, the army passed the river at two fords and a stone bridge, and advancing to the edge of the great bog, began about twelve o'clock to force the two passages, in order to possess the ground on the other side. The enemy fought with surprising fury, and the horle were several times repulsed; but at length the troops upon the right carried their point by means of some field pieces. The day was now so far advanced, that the general determined to postpone the battle till next morning; but perceiving some disorder among the enemy, and fearing they would decamp in the night, he altered his resolution, and ordered the attack to be renewed. At six o'clock in the evening, the left wing of the English advanced to the right of the Irish, from whom they met with such a warm and obstinate reception, that it was not without the most surprising efforts of courage and perseverance, that they at length obliged them to give ground; and even that they lost by inches. St. Ruth seeing them in danger of being overpowered, immediately detached succours to them, from his

his center and left wing. Mackay no sooner perceived them weakened by these detachments, than he ordered three battalions to skirt the bog, and attack them on the left, while the center advanced through the middle of the morass, the men wading up to the waist in mud and water. After they had reached the other side, they found themselves obliged to ascend a rugged hill, fenced with hedges and ditches; and those were lined with musqueteers, supported at proper intervals with squadrons of cavalry. They made such a desperate resistance; and fought with such impetuosity, that the assailants were repulsed into the middle of the bog with great loss; and St. Ruth exclaimed, "Now I will drive the English to the gates of Dublin." In this critical conjuncture Tollemache came up with a fresh body to sustain them; rallied the broken troops, and renewed the charge with such vigour, that the Irish gave way in their turn, and the English recovered the ground they had lost, though they found it impossible to improve their advantage. Mackay brought a body of horse and dragoons to the assistance of the left wing; and turned the tide of battle in favour of the English. Major general Rouvigny, who had behaved with great gallantry during the whole action, advanced with five regiments of cavalry to support the center, when St. Ruth perceiving his design, resolved to fall upon him in a dangerous hollow way, which he was obliged to pass. For this purpose he began to descend Kircommodon-hill, with his whole reserve of

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horse; but in his way was killed by a cannon-ball. His troops immediately halted: and his guards retreated with his body. His fate dispirited the troops, and produced such a confusion as Sarsfield could not remedy; for though he was next in command, he had been at variance with St. Ruth, since the affair at Athlone, and was ignorant of the plan he had concerted. Rovigny having passed the hollow way without opposition, charged the enemy in flank; and bore down all before him with surprising impetuosity: the center redoubled their efforts, and pushed the Irish to the top of the hill; and then their whole line giving way at once from right to left, threw down their arms. The foot fled towards a bog in their rear, and their horse took their route by the high-way to Loughneagh; both were pursued by the English cavalry, who for four miles made a terrible slaughter. In the battle, which lasted two hours, and in the pursuit, above four thousand of the enemy were slain, and six hundred taken, together with all their baggage, tents, provision, ammunition, and artillery, nine and twenty pairs of colours, twelve standards, and almost all the arms of the infantry. In a word the victory was decisive; and not above eight hundred of the English were killed upon the field of battle. The vanquished retreated in great confusion to Limerick, where they resolved to make a final stand, in hope of receiving such succours from France, as would either enable them to retrieve their affairs, or obtain good terms from the court of England

England. There Tyrconnel died of a broken heart, after having survived his authority and reputation, and incurred the contempt of the French, as well as the hatred of the Irish, whom he advised to submit to the new government, rather than totally ruin themselves and their families. Limerick, the last retreat of the Irish forces, made a brave defence; but when they saw the enemy advanced within ten paces of the bridge foot, and perceived themselves surrounded on all sides, they determined to capitulate; * a negociation was immediately begun, and hostilities ceased on both sides. The Roman catholics by this capitulation were restored to the enjoyment of those liberties in the exercise of their religion, which they had possessed in the reign of king Charles the second. All persons were indulged with free leave to remove with their families and effects to any other country, except England and Scotland. In consequence of this, about fourteen thousand of those who had fought for king James went over into France, having transports provided for conveying them thither. When they arrived in France, they were thanked for their loyalty by king James, who told them that they should still fight for their old master; and that he had obtained an order from the king of France for their being new clothed, and put into quarters of refreshment.

In this manner all the expectations which might arise from the attachment of the Irish were at an end; that kingdom submitted to the English government, and James was to

look for other assistance in a conspiracy among his English adherents; and in the succours promised him by the French king. * The conspiracy was contrived in Scotland by Sir James Montgomery, a person who, from being an adherent to William, now turned against him; but as the project was ill conceived, so it was as lightly discovered by the instigator. To this another succeeded, which seemed to threaten more serious consequences, as it was chiefly managed by the Whig party, who were the most formidable in the state. A number of these joined themselves to the Tory party, and both made advances to the adherents of the late king. They assembled together; and the result of their deliberations was, that the restoration of James was to be entirely effected by foreign forces; that he should sail for Scotland, and be there joined by five thousand Swedes, who, because they were of the protestant religion, it was thought would remove a part of the odium which attended an invasion by foreigners; that assistance should at the same time be sent from France, and that full liberty of conscience should be proclaimed throughout the kingdom. In order to lose no time, it was resolved to send over two trusty persons to France to consult with the banished monarch; and lord Preston and Mr. Ashton were the persons appointed for this dangerous embassy. Accordingly Ashton hired a small vessel for this purpose; and the two conspirators went secretly on board; but there had been previous information given of their intentions; and lord

* A. D. 1692.

lord Carmarthen had them both seized, just at the time they thought themselves out of danger. They refused to inform; their trials were therefore hurried on about a fortnight after they were taken, in order, by the terrors of death, to force a discovery. They were both condemned; Ashton was executed, without making any confession; lord Preston had not the same resolution. Upon an offer of a pardon he discovered a great number of associates.

The reduction of Ireland, and the wretched success of the late conspiracy, made the French at last sensible of their impolitic parsimony in losing a kingdom, whose divisions would be of no longer use to them. They were willing, therefore, to concur with the fugitive king, and make a descent upon England. In pursuance of this scheme, the French king supplied James with an army consisting of a body of French troops, some English and Scotch refugees, and the Irish regiments, which had been transported from Limerick into France, now become excellent soldiers by long discipline and severe duty. This army was assembled between Cherbourg and La Hogue, and was commanded by king James in person. More than three hundred transports were provided for landing it on the opposite English coast; and Tourville, the French admiral, at the head of sixty-three ships of the line, was appointed to favour the descent. His orders were, at all events, to attack the enemy, in case they should oppose him; so that every thing promised the banished king a change of fortune.

These preparations were soon known at the English court, and every precaution taken for a vigorous opposition. Admiral Ruffel was ordered to put to sea with all possible expedition; and he soon appeared with ninety-nine ships of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships; an immense force, and what Europe had seldom seen till that time. At the head of this formidable squadron he set sail for the coast of France, and at last, near La Hogue, discovered the enemy under admiral Tourville, who prepared to give him battle. * Accordingly the engagement began between the two admirals with great fury; the rest of the fleet on each side soon followed the example. This memorable engagement lasted for ten hours, and all James's hopes depended on the event. Victory at last declared on the side of numbers; the French fled, having lost four ships in the first day's action. The pursuit continued for two days following; three French ships of the line were destroyed the next day, and eighteen more burned by Sir George Rooke, which had taken refuge in the bay of La Hogue. In this manner all the preparations were frustrated; and so decisive was the blow, that from that time France seemed to relinquish all their claims to the ocean.

James was now reduced to the lowest ebb, his designs upon England being quite frustrated. From that time till he died, which was about seven years, he resided at St. Germain, a pensioner on the bounties of Lewis, and assisted by occasional liberalities from his daughter and friends in England. He died on the sixteenth

* May 23.

sixteenth day of September, in the year 1700, after having laboured under a tedious sickness. The latter part of his life, was calculated to inspire the superstitious with reverence for his piety. He subjected himself to acts of uncommon penance and mortification. He frequently visited the poor monks of La Trappe, who were edified by his humble and pious deportment. His pride and arbitrary temper, seemed to have vanished with his greatness; he became affable, kind, and easy, to all his dependents; and in his last illness, conjured his son to prefer religion to every worldly advantage. He died with great marks of devotion, and was interred, at his own request, in the church of the English Benedictines at Paris, without any funeral solemnity.

The defeat at La Hogue confirmed king William's safety, and secured his title to the crown. Yet new parties arose among those who had been friends to the revolution, and the want of a common enemy produced dissensions among themselves. William now began to find as much uneasiness from his parliament at home, as from the enemy in the field. His chief motive for accepting the crown, was to engage England more deeply in the concerns of Europe. It had ever been his wish, to humble the French, whom he considered as the most formidable enemies of the liberty of Europe. Many of the English, on the other hand, had neither the same animosity against the French, nor the same terrors of their increasing power. These, therefore, considered the interest of the nation as sacrificed to foreign connexions; and

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complained that the war on the continent fell most heavily on them, though they had the least interest in its success. To these motives of discontent were added the king's partiality to his own countrymen, together with his reserve and silence, so unlike the behaviour of all their former kings. William, however, little regarded those discontents, which he knew must be consequent on all government, accustomed to opposition, he heard their complaints with calmness, and employed all his attention on the interests of Europe. But, while he formed alliances abroad, the influence of party at home increased. Patriotism began to be ridiculed as an ideal virtue, the practice of bribing a majority in parliament became universal. The example of the great was caught up by the vulgar, and principle was gradually banished.

Upon accepting of the crown, the king was resolved to preserve, as much as he was able, that share of prerogative which still was left. He, therefore, often controverted the views of his parliament. One of the first instances of this, was in the opposition he gave to a bill for limiting the duration of parliaments to the space of three years. This bill had passed the two houses, and was sent up to receive the royal assent as usual; but the nation was surprised to find that the king was resolved to exert his prerogative, and to refuse his assent. Both houses took the alarm; the commons came to a resolution, that whoever advised the king to this measure was an enemy to his country. The bill lay dormant for another session;

season; but being again brought in, the king judged it best to comply.

A bill also passed for regulating trials, in cases of high treason, by which the accused was allowed a copy of his indictment, and a list of the names of his jury, two days before his trial, together with counsel to plead in his defence. It was still farther enacted, that no person should be indicted but upon the oaths of two witnesses; a law that gave the subject a perfect security from the terrors of the throne.

It was in the midst of these laws, that the Jacobites still conceived hopes of restoring their fallen monarch. While one part proceeded in the bolder manner, by attempting to excite an insurrection, another, consisting of the most desperate conspirators, formed a scheme of assassination. Sir George Barclay, a native of Scotland, who had served as an officer in James's army, a man of undaunted courage, which was still more inflamed by his bigotry to the church of Rome, undertook the task of seizing or assassinating the king. This design he imparted to Harrison, Charnock, and Porter, by whom it was approved; and after various consultations, it was resolved to attack the king on his return from Richmond, where he commonly hunted on Saturdays; and the scene of their ambuscade was a lane between Brentford and Turnham-Green. To secure success, it was agreed that their number should be increased to forty horsemen, and each conspirator began to engage proper persons to assist in the enterprize.

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When their number was complete, they waited with impatience for the hour of action; but some of the under actors, seized with fear or remorse, made a timely discovery. The night, subsequent to the intended day of assassination, a large number of the conspirators were apprehended. * The first who suffered, were Robert Charnock, one of the two fellows of Magdalen college, who, in the reign of James, had renounced the protestant religion; lieutenant King, and Thomas Keys. They were found guilty of high treason, and suffered at Tyburn. Sir John Freind, and Sir William Perkins were next arraigned; and although they made a very good, and as it seems, sufficient defence, yet lord chief justice Holt, directed the jury to find them guilty. † They both suffered at Tyburn with great constancy, denying the charge, and testifying their abhorrence of the assassination. In the course of the month, some others were tried, and being found guilty, shared the fate of the former. But the case of Sir John Fenwick was considered as one of the greatest stretches of power exhibited during this reign. This gentleman was apprehended in his way to France. There was little evidence against him, except an intercepted letter which he wrote to his wife. King William sent over word from Holland, where he then was, that unless the prisoner would make discoveries, he should be brought to his trial. The only material evidences against him, were one Porter, and Goedman, but of these lady Fenwick had

* March 18, 1696. † April 3.

had the good fortune to secrete one, so that only Porter, a single witness remained; which by the late law, was insufficient to affect the life of the prisoner. However, the house of commons were resolved to inflict that punishment upon him, which the laws were unable to execute. A bill of attainder was preferred against him, which was passed by a large majority. He was furnished with a copy of the indictment, allowed counsel at the bar of the house, and the counsel of the crown was called upon to open the evidence. After much disputation, the bill was sent up to the house of lords, where Sir John was found guilty, by a majority of only seven voices. † He suffered beheading on Tower-hill with great composure. His death proved the insufficiency of any laws to protect the subject, when a majority of the powerful shall think proper to dispense with them!

This stretch of power in the parliament was, in some measure, compensated by their diligence in restraining the universal corruption that seemed at that time to prevail over the kingdom. They were assiduously employed in bringing those to justice who had grown wealthy by public plunder, and increasing the number of those laws which restrained the arts of peculation.

The king, however, on his part became at length fatigued with opposing the laws, which parliament every day were laying round his authority, and gave up the contest. He admitted every restraint upon the prerogative in England, upon condition of being properly supplied

supplied with the means of humbling the power of France. For the prosecution of the war with France, the sums of money granted him were incredible. The nation, not contented with furnishing him such sums of money as they were capable of raising by the taxes of the year, mortgaged those taxes, and involved themselves in debts, which they have never since been able to discharge. For all that profusion of wealth granted to maintain the balance of Europe, England received in return the empty reward of military glory in Flanders, and the consciousness of having given their allies, particularly the Dutch, frequent opportunities of being ungrateful.

Dr. John Tillotson, archbishop of Canterbury, was seized with a fit of the dead palsy, in the chapel of Whitehall, and died on the twenty-second day of November, deeply regretted by the king and queen, who shed tears at his decease; and sincerely lamented by the public, as a pattern of elegance, ingenuity, meekness, charity and moderation. The queen did not long survive her favourite prelate. In about a month after his decease, she was taken ill of the small-pox, and the symptoms proving dangerous, she prepared herself for death with great composure. She spent some time in exercises of devotion, and private conversation with the new archbishop: she received the sacrament with all the bishops who were in attendance; and expired on the twenty eighth day of December, in the thirty-third year of her age, and in the sixth of her reign, to the inexpressible grief of the king, who

who for some weeks after her death, could neither see company, nor attend to the business of the state. Mary was in her person tall and well proportioned, with an oval visage, lively eyes, agreeable features, a mild aspect, and an air of dignity. Her apprehension was clear, her memory tenacious, and her judgment solid. She was a zealous protestant, scrupulously exact in all the duties of devotion, of an even temper, and of a calm and mild conversation.

* The war with France continued during the greatest part of this king's reign ; but at length the treaty of Ryswick put an end to those contentions, in which England had engaged without policy, and came off without advantage. In the general pacification, her interests seemed entirely deserted ; and for all the treasures she had sent to the continent, and all the blood which she had shed there, the only equivalent she received was, an acknowledgement of king William's title from the king of France.

Such was the issue of a long and bloody war, which had drained England of her wealth and people, almost intirely ruined her commerce, debauched her morals by encouraging venality and corruption, and entailed upon her an immense debt, which has gradually increased to an intolerable burthen. After all the blood and treasure which had been expended, William remained unsatisfied. Nevertheless he reaped the solid advantage of seeing himself firmly established on the English throne, and of putting a stop to the incroach-

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* Sep. 10. A. D. 1697.

ments of the French monarch. The confederates mortified his vanity, they humbled his pride and arrogance, and compelled him to disgorge what he had seized as a robber, in violation of public faith, justice and humanity.

The king, though freed from a foreign war, yet judged it absolutely needful to keep his forces up, even during the peace. But what was his mortification, to find the commons pass a vote, that all the forces in English pay, exceeding seven thousand men, should be forthwith disbanded, and that those retained should be natural-born subjects of England! He was highly displeased; even to such a pitch, that he conceived a design of abandoning the government. His ministers, however, diverted him from this resolution, and persuaded him to consent to passing the bill.

These altercations between the king and parliament continued during the remainder of this reign. William seemed but little attached to any particular party in the house, all of whom he found at times deserted or opposed him. He therefore veered to Whigs and Tories indiscriminately, as the immediate exigence demanded. He considered England as a place of labour, anxiety, and altercation. If he had any time for relaxation, he retired to Loo in Holland: where he conversed freely with a few select friends, and laid plans for future operations*.

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* On the fifth day of January, 1698, a fire breaking out at Whitehall, thro' the carelessness of a laundress, consumed the whole palace, together with the new gallery, the council-chamber, and several other apartments: only the Banqueting-house was left.

It was not long before the whole nation seemed to join in desiring a war with France. The king had been in Holland, concerting with his allies operations for a new campaign. He had engaged in a negociation with the prince of Hesse, who assured him, that if he would besiege and take Cadiz, the admiral of Castile, and divers other grandees of Spain, would declare for the house of Austria. The elector of Hanover had resolved to concur in the same measures; the king of the Romans, and prince Lewis of Baden, undertook to invest Laudan, while the emperor promised to send a powerful reinforcement into Italy; but death put a period to his projects.

William was naturally of a very feeble constitution; and it was by this time almost exhausted, by a series of continual disquietude and action. He had endeavoured to repair his constitution by exercise and riding. On the twenty-first day of February, in riding to Hampton-Court from Kensington, his horse fell under him, and he was thrown with such violence, that his collar bone was fractured. His attendants conveyed him to the palace of Hampton court, where the fracture was reduced, and in the evening he returned to Kensington in his coach. The jolting of the carriage disunited the fracture once more; and the bones were again replaced, under Bidloo his physician. This in a robust constitution would have been a trifling misfortune; but in him it was fatal. For some time he appeared in a fair way of recovery; but falling asleep on his couch, he was

seized with a shivering, which terminated in a fever and Diarrhæa: Perceiving his end approaching, the objects of his former care lay still next his heart; and the fate of Europe seemed to remove the sensations he might be supposed to feel for his own. The earl of Albermarle arriving from Holland, he conferred with him in private on the posture of affairs abroad. Two days after, he received the sacrament from archbishop Tenison. The lords of the privy council, and divers noblemen attended in the adjoining apartments, and to some of them who were admitted he spoke a little. He thanked lord Overkirk for his long and faithful services: he delivered to lord Albemarle the keys of his closet and scrutore, telling him, he knew what to do with them. He enquired for the earl of Portland; but being speechless before that nobleman arrived, he grasped his hand and laid it to his heart with marks of the most tender affection. On the eighth day of March, he expired, in the fifty-second year of his age, after having reigned thirteen years. The lords Lexington and Scarborough, who were in waiting, no sooner perceived the king was dead, than they ordered — Ronjat to untie from his left arm a black ribbon, to which was affixed a ring, containing some hair of the late queen Mary. He was in his person of a middle stature, a thin body, and a delicate constitution. He had an aquiline nose, sparkling eyes, a large forehead, and a grave solemn aspect. He left behind him the character of a great politician, though he had never

never been popular; and a formidable general, though he was seldom victorious. His deportment was grave, nor did he ever shew any fire but in the day of battle. He despised flattery, yet loved dominion: greater as the stadtholder of Holland than as king of England. His character and success serve to shew, that moderate abilities will atchieve the greatest purposes, if the objects aimed at be pursued with perseverance, and planned without unnecessary or ostentatious refinement.

Upon the whole, he appears to have been an honest, conscientious man, fearing God, and desirous to please him. His good qualities were many; his ill ones few: so that we may well rank him among the best of the English princes.



CHAPTER II.

ANNE.

THE loss of King William was thought irreparable; but the kingdom soon found that the happiness of any reign is to be estimated as much from the general manners of the times, as the private virtues of the monarch. Queen Anne, his successor, with no very shining talents, yet governed with glory, and left her people happy.

Anne, married to prince George of Denmark, ascended the throne, March 8, 1702, in the thirty-eighth year of her age. She was the second daughter of king James, by his first wife, the daughter of the earl of Clarendon. As she had in the preceding part of life suffered many mortifications from the reigning king, she had learned to conceal her resentments; and the tranquillity of her temper still more contributed to make her pardon every opposition. She either was insensible of disrespect shewn her, or had wisdom to appear so.

The king had left England at the eve of a war with France. The queen, who took the advice of her ministry in every important transaction, found a part of them were for war, another part for peace.

At the head of those who opposed a war was the earl of Rochester, lord lieutenant of Ireland, first cousin to the queen. This minister proposed that the English should avoid a declaration of war with France, and at most act as auxiliaries only. He urged the impossibility of England's reaping any advantage by success upon the continent, and the folly of loading the nation with debts to increase the riches of its commercial rivals.

In the van of those who declared for war, was the earl (since the duke) of Marlborough. This nobleman had begun life as a court page, and was raised by king James to a peerage. Having deserted his old master, he attached himself to king William; but had still a secret partiality to the Tories. Anne loved a
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man who still professed veneration for her father, and paid the utmost attention to herself. But he had still another hold upon the queen. He was married to a lady who was the queen's peculiar confidant, and who governed her in every action of life with unbounded authority. By this canal Marlborough actually directed the queen in all her resolutions; and while his rivals strove to advance their reputation in the council, he was more effectually securing it in the closet.

It was not, therefore, without private reasons that Marlborough inclined for war. It first gave him an opportunity of taking a different side of the question from the earl of Rochester, whose influence he desired to lessen; and he had in the next place hopes of being appointed general of the forces. He therefore observed in council, that the honour of the nation was concerned to fulfil the late king's engagements. He affirmed, that France could never be reduced within due bounds, unless England would enter as a principal in the quarrel. His opinion preponderated; the queen resolved to declare war, and communicated her intentions to the house of commons, by whom it was approved, and war was proclaimed accordingly.

Lewis XIV, once at the summit of glory, but grown familiar with disappointment ever since his unjust and cruel revocation of the edict of Nantes, still kept spurring on an exhausted kingdom, to second the views of his ambition. He now, upon the death of William expected to enter upon a field open for conquests.

conquests. The vigilance of his late rival had blasted all his laurels; for even though defeated, William still was formidable. At the news of his death, the French monarch could not suppress his rapture; and his court at Versailles seemed to have forgotten their usual decency in the effusions of their satisfaction. The people of Paris openly rejoiced at the event; and so did the whole kingdom.

|| The king of France, in the queen's declaration of war, was taxed with having taken possession of a great part of the Spanish dominions; with designing to invade the liberties of Europe, to obstruct the freedom of commerce; and with having offered an insult to the queen and her throne, by acknowledging the title of the pretender.

This declaration of war on the part of the English, was seconded by similar declarations by the Dutch and Germans, all on the same day. The French monarch could not suppress his anger at such a combination, but his chief resentment fell upon the Dutch. He declared with great emotion, that as for those gentlemen pedlars, the Dutch, they should one day repent their insolence and presumption, in declaring war against one whose power they had formerly felt and dreaded. However, the affairs of the allies were no way influenced by his threats. The Dutch appointed Marlborough generalissimo of the allied army. And it must be confessed, that few men shone more either in debate or action; serene in the midst of danger, and indefatigable in the cabinet; so that he became the most formidable enemy

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|| May 4

to France that England had produced since the times of Cressy and Agincourt.

A great part of the history of this reign consists in battles fought upon the continent, which though of very little advantage to the interests of the nation, were additions to its honour. These triumphs, it is true, are passed away, but they are too recent to be quite omitted.

The duke of Marlborough had learned the first rudiments of the art of war, under the famous marshal Turenne, having been a volunteer in his army. He was at first, most remarkable for the beauty of his person; and went, in the French camp, by the name of the Handsome Englishman; but Turenne, who saw deep into mankind, prognosticated his future greatness. The first attempt that Marlborough made to deviate from the general practice of the army, was to advance the subaltern officers, according to their merit. Hence he soon had all the upper ranks of commanders, rather remarkable for their talents, than for their age.

In his first campaign, the beginning of July, he repaired to the camp at Nimeguen, where he found himself at the head of an army of sixty thousand men, well provided with all necessaries, and long disciplined by the best officers of the age. He was opposed on the side of France, by the duke of Burgundy, grandson to the king, a youth more qualified to grace a court than to conduct an army; while the real general was the marshal Boufflers, who commanded under him, an officer of cou-

rage and activity. But wherever Marlborough advanced, the French were obliged to retire before him, leaving all Spanish Guelderland at his discretion. The duke of Burgundy, finding himself obliged to retreat before the allied army, returned to Versailles, leaving Boufflers to command alone. Boufflers retired towards Brabant, where Marlborough had no design to pursue; contented with ending the campaign by the taking the city of Liege, in which was found an immense sum of money, and a great number of prisoners. By the success of this campaign, Marlborough raised his military character, and confirmed himself in the confidence of the allies.

Marlborough, upon his return to London, was thanked by the house of commons, and created a duke by the queen. His good fortune seemed to console the nation for want of success at sea. A fruitless attempt was made upon Cadiz by sea and land, Sir George Rooke commanding the navy, and the duke of Ormond the land forces. But the English arms were crowned with success at Vigo, where the duke of Ormond landed with five and twenty hundred men, at the distance of six miles from the city; while the fleet forcing their way into the harbour, the French fleet that had taken refuge there were burned, to prevent falling into the hands of the English. Eight ships were burned, but ten ships of war were taken, together with eleven galleons, and above a million of money in silver.

The advantage which was acquired by this expedition was counterbalanced by the base conduct

conduct of some officers in the West-Indies. Admiral Benbow, a bold rough seaman, had been stationed in that part of the world with ten ships. Being informed that Du Casse, the French admiral, was in those seas with a force equal to his own, he resolved to attack him; and soon after discovered the enemies' squadron near St. Martha, steering along the shore. He quickly formed the line of battle, and the engagement began. But the rest of his fleet permitted him, almost alone, to sustain the whole fire of the enemy. Nevertheless the engagement continued till night, and he determined to renew it the next morning. But he had the mortification to perceive that all the rest of his ships had fallen back except one. For four days did this intrepid seaman, assisted only by one ship, pursue and engage the enemy, while his cowardly officers, at a distance, remained idle spectators. His last day's battle, was more furious than all the former: alone, and unsustained by the rest, he engaged the whole French squadron, when his leg was shattered by a cannon-ball. He then ordered that they should place him in a cradle upon the quarter-deck; and there he continued to give orders as before, till at last his ship being quite disabled, was unfit to continue the chace any longer. When one of his lieutenants expressed his sorrow for the loss of the admiral's leg, "I am sorry for it too," cried Benbow, but I had rather have lost both my legs, than see the dishonour of this day. But do you hear, if another shot should take me off, behave like brave men, and

“and fight it out.” He soon after died of his wounds; and his cowardly associates, Kirby and Wade, were tried by a court martial, and sentenced to be shot: and on their arrival at Plymouth, a warrant was sent down for their immediate execution.

* The next parliament was highly pleased with the success which attended the English arms on the continent. They were liberal in their supplies. They voted forty thousand seamen, and the like number of land forces, to act in conjunction with those of the allies. A short time after, the queen gave the house of commons to understand, that the allies pressed her to augment her forces. The commons were as ready to grant as she to demand, and it was resolved that ten thousand men more should be added to the army.

† The duke of Marlborough crossed the sea in the beginning of April, and assembling the allied army, opened the campaign with the siege of Bonne, the residence of the elector of Cologne. This held out but a short time against the attacks of the prince of Hesse-Cassel, the celebrated Coehorn, and general Fagel. He next retook Huy, the garrison of which, after a vigorous defence, surrendered prisoners of war. The siege of Limburg was then undertaken; which surrendered in two days, and by the conquest of this place, the allies secured the country of Liege, and the electorate of Cologne from the designs of the enemy. Such was the campaign in the Netherlands, which, in all probability, would have produced events of greater importance, had not

* Oct. 20. † A. D. 1703.

not the duke of Marlborough been restrained by the Dutch, who began to be influenced by the Lovestein faction, ever averse to war with France*.

The duke was resolved in his next campaign to act more offensively; and, furnished with proper powers from the queen, he informed the Dutch that it was his intention to march to the relief of the empire, that had been for some time oppressed by the French. The states general, fearing to weaken the alliance by distrust, gave him full power to march as he thought proper. The French king appointed marshal Villeroy to head the army, Boufflers being no longer thought equal to the duke.

Villeroy was son to the king of France's governor, and had been educated with that monarch. He had been always the favourite of Lewis, and a sharer in his amusements, his campaigns and his glory. He was brave, generous and polite, but unequal to the great task of commanding an army; and still more

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* On Friday, Nov. 26, near midnight, began the most violent storm that was ever known in England. It continued till Seven in the morning; blowing down many whole buildings and tearing up trees by the roots. Many were killed in their own houses; Bp. Kidder, in particular, by the fall of part of the palace at Wells. Sixteen men of war were lost on the coast, and abundance of merchant-men.

In January 1704, the queen published an order, laying the play-houses under strict regulations: and soon after, she made a grant of all First-fruits and Tenth, to augment the maintenance of the poor clergy.

so, when opposed to so great a rival. Marlborough, who was peculiarly famous for studying the abilities of the general he was to oppose, having no great fears from his present antagonist; instead of going forward to meet him, flew to the succour of the emperor, as had been agreed at the commencement of the campaign. Resolving to strike a vigorous blow; he took with him about thirteen thousand English troops, traversed extensive countries by hasty marches, arrived at the banks of the Danube, defeated a body of French and Bavarians, stationed at Donavert to oppose him, then passed the Danube with his triumphant army, and laid the dukedom of Bavaria under contribution. Villeroy, who at first attempted to follow him, all at once lost sight of his enemy; nor was he apprized of his route, till informed of his successes. Marshal Tallard prepared by another route to obstruct his retreat, with an army of thirty thousand men. He was soon after joined by the duke of Bavaria's forces, so that his army amounted to sixty thousand veterans, commanded by the two best generals then in France:

Tallard had established his reputation by many victories; he was active and penetrating, and had risen by his merits alone to the first station in the army. But his ardour often rose to impetuosity; and he was extremely short-sighted. The duke of Bavaria, was equally experienced in the field, and had still stronger motives for his activity. His country was ravaged before his eyes, and no-
thing

thing remained of his possessions, but the army which he commanded. It was in vain that he sent intreaties to the enemy to stop the fury of their incursions; the only answer he received was, that it lay in his own power to make his enemies friends, by alliance. To oppose these powerful generals, the duke was now joined by a body of thirty thousand men, under the conduct of prince Eugene, whose troops were well disciplined, but still more formidable by the conduct and fame of their general. Prince Eugene, had been bred up from his infancy in camps; he was equal to Marlborough in intrigue, and superior in the art of war. Their talents were of a similar kind; but instead of any jealousy between them, they concurred in the same designs; for the same good sense determined them always to the same object.

This army, which Eugene and Marlborough commanded, amounted to about fifty-two thousand men. The French amounted to sixty thousand, who had been familiar with victory. Both armies, after many marchings and countermarchings, approached each other. The French were posted on an hill near the town of Hochstet; their right covered by the Danube, and the village of Blenheim; their left by the village of Lutzingen, and their front by a rivulet, the banks of which were steep, and the bottom marshy. It was in this advantageous position, that the allied army resolved to attack them. As this engagement, which has since been known by the name of the battle of Blenheim, both from

the talents of the generals, and the number and discipline of the troops, is reckoned the most remarkable of this century, it demands a particular detail.

* The right wing of the French, which was covered by the Danube, and the village of Blenheim, was commanded by marshal Tallard. Their left defended by another village, was commanded by the duke of Bavaria, and under him general Marsin, an experienced Frenchman. In the front of their army ran the rivulet; and in this position they awaited the enemy. Marlborough and Eugene were incited to engage them at any rate, by an intercepted letter from Villeroy, intimating that he was preparing to cut off all communication between the Rhine and the allied army. The dispositions being made for the attack, the allied forces advanced in order of battle. The cannonading began about nine in the morning, and continued to about half after twelve. Then the troops advanced to the attack; the right under the direction of prince Eugene, the left headed by Marlborough, and opposed to marshal Tallard.

Marlborough, at the head of the English, having passed the rivulet, attacked the cavalry of Tallard. This general was at that time reviewing his troops to the left; and his cavalry fought for some time without their commander. Prince Eugene on the left had not yet attacked the forces of the elector; and it was near an hour before he could bring up his troops to the engagement.

Tallard

Tallard was no sooner informed that his right was attacked, but he flew to its head, where he found a furious encounter begun; his cavalry being thrice driven back, and rallying as often. He had posted a large body of forces in the village of Blenheim; and he made an attempt to bring them to the charge. But they were attacked by a detachment of Marlborough's forces so vigorously, that instead of assisting the main body, they could hardly maintain their ground. All the French cavalry being thus attacked in flank was totally defeated. The English army then pierced up between the two bodies of the French commanded by the marshal and elector, while at the same time the forces in the village of Blenheim were separated by another detachment. In this distressed situation, Tallard flew to rally some squadrons; but from his short-sightedness mistaking a detachment of the enemy for his own, he was taken prisoner by the Hessian troops, who were in English pay. In the mean time prince Eugene, after having been thrice repulsed, at last put the enemy into confusion. The route then became general, and the flight precipitate. The consternation was such, that the French soldiers threw themselves into the Danube, without knowing where they fled. The officers lost all their authority, and there was no general left to secure a retreat.

The allies being now masters of the field of battle, surrounded the village of Blenheim, where a body of thirteen thousand men had been posted in the beginning of the action.

These troops seeing themselves cut off from all communication with the rest of the army, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Thus ended the battle of Blenheim, one of the most complete victories that ever was obtained. Twenty thousand French and Bavarians were slain, wounded or drowned in the Danube, and thirteen thousand made prisoners of war. Of the allies about five thousand men were killed, and eight thousand wounded or taken. The loss of the battle was imputed to two capital errors committed by marshal Tallard; namely, his weakening the center by placing so large a body of troops in Blenheim, and his suffering the English to cross the rivulet, and form on the other side.

The next day, when the duke of Marlborough visited his prisoner, the marshal intending a compliment, assured him that he had overcome the best troops in the world. "I hope, Sir, replied the duke, you will except those troops by whom they were conquered." A country of an hundred leagues extent fell by this defeat into the hands of the victor. Not contented with these conquests, the duke, soon after the finishing the campaign, repaired to Berlin, where he procured a reinforcement of eight thousand Prussians to serve under prince Eugene in Italy. Thence he proceeded to negotiate for succours at Hanover, and soon after returned to England, where he found the people in a phrenzy of joy. The parliament and the people were ready to second him in all his designs. The
manor

manor of Woodstock was conferred upon him for his services by both houses; an eulogium was pronounced upon his important services by the lord-keeper as he entered the house of lords. The queen was not only pleased with these marks of respect shewn him, but also ordered the comptroller of her works to build in Woodstock park a magnificent palace for the duke, which remains to this day a monument, as the best judges think, not less of his victories, than of the skill of the architect.

In the mean time, the arms of England were not less fortunate by sea, than they had been upon the Danube. The ministry of England understanding that the French were employed in equipping a strong squadron in Brest, sent out Sir Cloudesly Shovel, and Sir George Rooke. They called a council of war on board the fleet, as they lay off the coast of Africa. In this they resolved to make an attempt upon Gibraltar, a city then belonging to the Spaniards, at that time neither expecting, nor fearing such an attempt.

The town of Gibraltar stands upon a tongue of land, defended by a rock inaccessible on every side but one. The prince of Hesse landed his troops, to the number of eighteen hundred, on the continent adjoining, and summoned the town to surrender, but without effect. Next day the admiral gave orders for cannonading the town; and perceiving that the enemy were driven from their fortifications at a place called the South Mole-head, ordered captain Whitaker to arm all the boats, and

and assault that quarter. Two captains, Hicks and Jumper, took possession of a platform, and kept their ground, until they were sustained by captain Whitaker, and the rest of the seamen, who took a redoubt between the mole and the town by storm. Then the governor capitulated, and the prince of Hesse entered the place, amazed at the success of the attempt, considering the strength of the fortifications. When the news of this conquest was brought to England, it was in debate whether it was a capture worth thanking the admiral for. It was at last considered as unworthy public gratitude; while the duke of Marlborough was extolled for useless services, Sir George Rooke was left to neglect, and soon displaced from his command, for having so essentially served his country. A striking instance that, even in the most enlightened age, popular applause is usually misplaced. Gibraltar has ever since remained in the possession of the English, and continues of the utmost use in refitting that part of the navy destined to annoy an enemy, or protect our trade in the Mediterranean.

Soon after the taking this important garrison, the English fleet, now become sovereign of the seas, to the number of three and fifty ships of the line, came up with a French fleet, to the number of fifty-two, commanded by the count de Tholouse, off the coast of Malaga. This was the last great naval engagement in which the French ventured to face the English upon equal terms; all their efforts since being calculated rather for escape than opposition

opposition. A little after ten in the morning the battle began, and continued to rage with doubtful success till two in the afternoon, when the van of the French gave way. For two successive days the English admiral endeavoured to renew the engagement, which the French fleet as cautiously declined, and at last disappeared totally. Both nations claimed the victory: but the consequence decided it in favour of the English.

The taking of Gibraltar was a conquest of which the Spaniards knew the loss, though we seemed ignorant of the value. Philip, king of Spain, sent the marquis of Villadurias with a large army to retake it. France also sent thirteen ships of the line; but a part of them was dispersed by a tempest, and part was taken by the English. Nor was the land army more successful. The siege continued for four months, during which time the prince of Hesse, who commanded the town for the English, exhibited many proofs of valour. At length, the Spaniards having attempted to scale the rock in vain, finding no hopes of taking the place, abandoned the enterprize.

While the English were thus victorious by land and sea, a new scene of contention was opened on the side of Spain. Philip the fourth, grandson of Lewis the fourteenth, had been placed upon the throne of that kingdom, and had been received with the joyful concurrence of the greatest part of his subjects. He had also been nominated successor to the crown by the late king of Spain's will. But in a former treaty among the powers of Europe,

Europe, Charles, son of the emperor of Germany, was appointed heir to that crown; and this treaty had been guarantied by France herself, though she now preferred a descendant of the house of Bourbon. Charles was still farther led on to put in for the crown of Spain by the invitation of the Catalonians, who declared in his favour, and by the assistance of the English and Portuguese, who promised to arm in his cause. Upon his way to his newly assumed dominion he landed in England, where he was received on shore by the dukes of Somerset and Marlborough, who conducted him to Windsor. The queen's deportment to him was equally noble and obliging, while, on his side, he gave general satisfaction by his affability. He was furnished with two hundred transports, thirty ships of war and nine thousand men, for the conquest of that extensive empire. The earl of Peterborough, a man of romantic bravery, offered to conduct them; and his single service was thought equivalent to armies.

† The earl of Peterborough was one of the most extraordinary men of the age in which he lived. When but fifteen he fought against the Moors in Africa; at twenty he assisted in compassing the Revolution, and he now carried on the war in Spain almost at his own expence; his friendship for duke Charles being one of his chief motives to the undertaking. He was deformed in his person; but of a mind the most generous, honorable, and active. His first attempt upon landing in Spain was to besiege Barcelona, a strong city, with

with a garrison of five thousand men, while his own army amounted to little more than nine thousand. The operations were begun by a sudden attack upon fort Monjuic, strongly situated on an hill that commanded the city. The outworks were taken by storm; and a shell chancing to fall into the body of the fort, the powder magazine was blown up. This struck the garrison that defended the fort with such consternation, that they surrendered without farther resistance. The town still remained unconquered; but batteries were erected against it, and after a few days the governor capitulated. During the interval, which was taken up in signing the necessary form, a body of Germans and Catalonians, belonging to the English army, entered the town, and were plundering all before them. The governor, who was treating with the English general, thought himself betrayed, and upbraided that nobleman's treachery. Peterborough left the writings unfinished, and flying among the plunderers drove them from their prey, and then returned calmly, and signed the capitulation. The Spaniards were equally amazed at the generosity of the English, and the baseness of their own countrymen. The conquest of all Valencia succeeded the taking of this important place. The enemy endeavoured indeed to retake Barcelona; but were repulsed with loss, and the affairs of Philip seemed desperate. The party that acknowledged Charles was every day increasing. He became master of Arragon, Carthagena, and Granada. The way

way to Madrid, the capital of Spain, lay open to him. The earl of Galway entered that city in triumph, and there proclaimed Charles king of Spain without opposition. Such was the beginning of the war, as conducted by the allies in Spain; but its end was far different.

† In the mean time the English paid little regard to these victories; their whole attention was taken up by their victories in Flanders; and the duke of Marlborough took care that they should still have something to wonder at. He had early in the spring opened the campaign, and brought an army of eighty thousand men into the field, which was greater than what he had hitherto been able to muster. But still he expected reinforcements from Denmark and Prussia; and the court of France was resolved to attack him before this junction. Villeroy, who commanded their army, consisting of eighty thousand men, near Tirlémont, had orders to act upon the defensive; but if compelled, to hazard an engagement. The duke on the other hand, had received a slight repulse by the defection of prince Lewis of Baden; and he resolved to retrieve his credit by some signal action. Villeroy had drawn up his forces in a strong camp; his right was flanked by the river Meuse; his left was posted behind a marsh, and the village of Ramillies lay in the center. * Marlborough drew up his army accordingly. He knew that the left wing of the enemy could not easily pass the marsh to attack him; he therefore weakened his troops in that quarter,

and

and fell on the center with superior numbers. The enemies' center was soon obliged to yield, and at length gave way on all sides. The horse, abandoning their foot, were so closely pursued, that almost all were cut to pieces: Six thousand men were taken prisoners, and about eight thousand killed. This victory was almost as signal as that of Blenheim; Bavaria and Cologne were the fruits of the one, and all Brabant was gained by the other. The French troops were dispirited; the city of Paris was in confusion. Lewis, who had long been a conqueror, was now humbled to such a degree, as almost to excite the compassion of his enemies. He intreated for peace, but in vain; the allies carried all before them, and his very capital began to dread the approach of the conquerors. What neither his power, his armies, nor his politics could effect, was brought about by a party in England. The dissension between the Whigs and Tories saved France, that was now on the brink of ruin.

The councils of the queen had hitherto been governed by a Whig ministry; for tho' the duke of Marlborough had first started in the Tory interest, he soon joined the opposite faction. The Whigs still pursued the schemes of the late king; and determined to humble France still more. Many meditated schemes of opposition to the duke of Marlborough. They regarded him as a self-interested man, who sacrificed the real advantages of the nation, in protracting a ruinous war for his own

private emolument and glory. They saw their country oppressed with an increasing load of taxes, which, by a continuance of the war, must become an intolerable burthen. Their discontents began to spread: and they wanted only a few determined leaders to conduct them in removing the present ministry.

In the mean time, a succession of losses began to dissipate the conquering phrenzy, which had seized the nation. The army under Charles in Spain was then commanded by the lord Galway. This nobleman having received intelligence that the enemy, under the command of the duke of Berwick, was posted near the town of Almanza, advanced thither to give him battle. * The conflict began about two in the afternoon, and the whole front of each army was fully engaged. The center, consisting chiefly of battalions from Great Britain and Holland, were at first victorious; but the Portuguese horse, by whom they were supported, betaking themselves to flight on the first charge, the English troops were surrounded on every side. In this dreadful emergency they formed themselves into a square, and retired to an eminence, where, being ignorant of the country, and destitute of all supplies, they were obliged to surrender prisoners of war, to the number of ten thousand men. This victory was decisive; all Spain, except the province of Catalonia, returned to their duty to Philip.

† The attempt made upon Toulon, by the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene by land, and the English fleet by sea, met with as little success.

success. The prince, with thirty thousand men took possession of the eminencies that commanded the city, while the fleet reduced two forts at the entrance of the mole. But the French king sending an army to the relief of the place, the duke of Savoy perceiving no hopes of a speedy surrender, resolved to abandon his enterprize; and having embarked his artillery, retreated by night without molestation.

The fleet under Sir Cloudesly Shovel, was still more unfortunate. Having set sail for England, and being in soundings on the twenty-second day of October, about eight at night, he and most of his captains being drinking together, his ship was dashed upon the rocks of Scilly, and every soul on board perished, except a cabin-boy. The like fate befel three ships more, while three others were saved with difficulty. The admiral's body being cast a-shore, was stript and buried in the sand; but it was afterwards dug up again, and interred in Westminster-Abbey.

Nor were the allies more prosperous in Germany. Villars, the French general, carried all before him, and was upon the point of restoring the elector of Bavaria. The only hopes of the people, lay in the activity and conduct of the duke of Marlborough, who opened the campaign near Brussels, about the middle of May. But even here they were disappointed. That general, probably willing to protract the war, declined an engagement; and rather endeavoured to secure

himself, than annoy the enemy. Thus, after several marchings and counter-marching, both armies retired into winter-quarters. The French made preparations for the next campaign with recruited vigour. The duke of Marlborough returned to England, to meet with a reception which he did not expect.

Previous to the disgrace of the ministry, a measure of the greatest importance took place in parliament; a measure that had been wished by many, but thought too difficult for execution. I mean the union between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland; which, though they were governed by one sovereign, yet were still ruled by their respective parliaments, and often pursued opposite interests. An union of both parliaments was passionately desired by James. King Charles took some steps to effect it; but many insurmountable objections lay in the way. This was reserved for queen Anne to accomplish, at a time when both nations were in good humour at their late successes; and the queen's title and administration were approved by all.

The attempt for an union, was begun at the commencement of this reign; but some disputes arising relative to the trade to the East, the conference was broke up. It was revived by an act in either parliament, granting power to commissioners named on the part of both nations, to treat on the preliminary articles of an union, afterwards to be discussed by the legislative body of both kingdoms. The choice of these commissioners was left to the

the queen; and she named none, but such as heartily wished for it.

|| Accordingly, they met in the council-chamber, near Whitehall. Their commissions being opened, the conference began. The Scotch commissioners were inclined to an union, like that of the United Provinces; but the English were bent upon an incorporation, so that no Scottish parliament should ever have power to repeal the articles of the treaty. Lord Cowper, proposed that the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, should be for ever united into one, by the name of Great Britain; that it should be represented by one and the same parliament, and governed by the same hereditary monarch. The Scotch commissioners, insisted that the subjects of Scotland, should for ever enjoy the same privileges with those of England; and that all statutes, contrary to the tenor of these privileges in either kingdom, should be repealed. As the queen frequently exhorted the commissioners to dispatch, the articles of this famous union were agreed to, and signed by the commissioners; * and it only remained to lay them before the parliaments of both nations.

In this treaty it was stipulated, that the succession to the united kingdom should be vested in the house of Hanover; that the kingdoms should be represented by one and the same parliament; that all the subjects of Great Britain should enjoy a communication of privileges; that they should have the same

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privileges.

|| April 16. 1706. * July 22.

privileges with respect to commerce and customs; that the laws concerning public right, civil government and policy, should be the same throughout the two united kingdoms; but that no alteration should be made in laws which concerned private right, except for the evident benefit of the people of Scotland; that the courts of justice, and other courts of judicature in Scotland, should remain, as then constituted by the laws of that kingdom, with the same authority and privileges as before the union; that Scotland should be represented in the parliament of Great Britain, by sixteen peers, and forty-five commoners, to be elected in such a manner, as should be settled by the present parliament of Scotland; that all peers of Scotland should be considered as peers of Great Britain, and rank immediately after the English peers of the like degrees at the time of the union, and before such as should be created after it; that they should enjoy all the privileges of English peers, except that of voting in parliament, or sitting upon the trial of peers; that all the insignia of royalty and government should remain as they were; that all laws and statutes in either kingdom, inconsistent with the terms of these articles, should be declared void by the respective parliaments of the two kingdoms. These were the principal articles of the union; and it only remained to obtain the sanction of the legislature of both kingdoms: but this was a much more difficult undertaking than it was first imagined to be. It was not only to be approved by the parliament of Scotland, all the

the popular members of which were averse to the union, but it was also to pass through both houses in England, where it was not a little disagreeable, except to the ministry.

But in the end, the party for the union prevailed; and this measure was carried in both nations, through all the obstacles of pretending patriotism and private interest; from which we may learn, that schemes, which theory deems impracticable, will often succeed in experiment.

Thus, notwithstanding all opposition, every article of the union was approved by a great majority in the house of lords. * It passed in the house of commons by a majority of one hundred and fourteen; it made its way through the house of lords a second time with equal ease, and when it received the royal sanction, the queen expressed the utmost satisfaction.

Meantime the English Tories were become the majority in the kingdom, but found themselves opposed by a powerful coalition at court. The duchess of Marlborough, had long been in possession of the queen's confidence and favour; and turned the easiness of her mistress's temper to her own advantage, as well as that of her party. The duke of Marlborough was at the head of the army. Lord Godolphin, his son-in-law, was at the head of the treasury, which he managed so as entirely to co-operate with the ambition of the duke. But an unexpected alteration soon followed. Among the number of those whom
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* March 6. A. D. 1707.

the dutchess had introduced to the queen, was one Mrs. Masham, her own kinswoman. The dutchess having gained the ascendant over the queen, became petulant and insolent. Mrs. Masham was more humble and assiduous.

She began to insinuate to the queen, that the Tories were the majority of the people; that they were displeased with a ministry that attempted to rule their sovereign, and had lavished the treasures of the nation on useless wars. Mr. Harley too, secretary of state, was determined to sap the credit of Godolphin and Marlborough, and to expel the Whigs from the advantages which they had long enjoyed. Harley was a man possessed of uncommon erudition, great knowledge of business, and as great integrity. He was assisted by Henry St. John, afterwards the famous lord Bolingbroke, a man of great eloquence; enterprising, restless, active and haughty, with much wit and little principle.

To them was added Sir Simon Harcourt, a lawyer, a man of great abilities. These uniting, assured their friends, that the queen would no longer bear the tyranny of a Whig ministry. She had ever been, they said, a friend to the high-church party, by which appellation they now chose to be distinguished; and to convince them of the truth of their assertions, the queen herself shortly after bestowed two bishopricks on men of that character.

It was now perceived that the people themselves began to be weary of the Whig ministry.

try. To them they imputed the burthens under which they groaned, burthens which they had hitherto borne, during the pomp of triumph; but the load of which they felt in a pause of success. No new advantage had of late been gained in the Netherlands. France, instead of sinking under the weight of the confederacy, as they had been taught to expect, seemed to rise with fresh vigour from every overthrow. The English merchants had lately sustained repeated losses, for want of proper convoys; the coin of the nation was visibly diminished, and the public credit began to decline.

The murmurs of the nation, first found vent in the house of lords, where the earl of Wharton, seconded by lord Somers, expatiated upon the scarcity of money, the decay of trade, and the mismanagement of the navy. This complaint was backed by a petition from the merchants of the city, aggravating their losses by sea for want of convoys. It began now to be urged, that attacking France in the Netherlands, was taking the bull by the horns; attempting the enemy where it was best prepared for a defence.

At length the duke of Marlborough resolved openly to oppose the earl of Oxford. He accordingly wrote to the queen, that he and lord Godolphin could serve her no longer, should the present secretary be continued in his place. The queen, endeavoured to appease the duke's resentment by every art of persuasion. But he was too confident of his own power, and continued obstinate in his refusal

refusal. The earl of Godolphin and the duke went so far as to retire from court, and the queen saw herself in danger of being deserted by her whole ministry. Some were even heard to say, that no deliberations could be pursued in the absence of the duke and the lord treasurer.

The queen now, for the first time, perceived the power which these two ministers had assumed over her. She found that they were willing to place and displace the servants of the crown at pleasure; and that nothing was left to her, but to approve such measures as they thought fit to press upon her. She secretly resolved to remove a ministry that was thus grown odious to her, but in the present exigence was obliged to give way to their demands. † Next day, therefore, she sent for the duke of Marlborough, and told him that Harley should immediately resign his office; and it was accordingly conferred on Mr. Henry Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer.

The first efforts of the Tory party being thus frustrated, Bolingbroke was resolved to share in his friend Harley's disgrace, as also Sir Simon Harcourt, attorney-general, and Sir Thomas Mansell, comptroller of the household, who all voluntarily relinquished their employments. Bolingbroke's employment of secretary at war was conferred upon Robert Walpole, a man who now began to be considerable in the house of commons, and who made such a figure in the two succeeding reigns.

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† Feb. 11, 1708.

The duke seemed to triumph in his success, not considering that by this step he entirely lost the confidence of the queen. He returned to prosecute his victories on the continent, where a new harvest of glory attended him.

In August, general Stanhope landed on the island of Minorca, with about three thousand men; the garrison of St. Philip's fort consisted of a thousand Spaniards, and six hundred French marines, commanded by colonel la Jonquiere, who imagined that the number of the besiegers amounted to at least ten thousand; so artfully had they drawn up in sight of the enemy. The batteries began to play, and in a little time demolished four towers that served as outworks to the Fort. Then they made a breach in the outward wall, through which brigadier Wade, at the head of the grenadiers, stormed a redoubt, with such extraordinary valour as struck the besieged with consternation. On the second or third day they thought proper to beat a parley, and capitulate, on condition, that they should march with the honours of war. That the Spaniards should be transported to Murcia, and the French to Toulon. The Spanish governor was so mortified when he learned the real number of the besiegers, that on his arrival at Murcia, he threw himself out of a window in despair, and was killed upon the spot. La Jonquiere was confined for life, and all the French officers incurred their master's displeasure. Fort St. Philip being thus reduced, to the amazement of all Europe, and the garrison of Port Fornelles, having surrendered them-

themselves prisoners to the admirals Leake and Whitaker, the inhabitants gladly submitted to the English government; for king Philip had oppressed and deprived them of their privileges; and general Stanhope appointed colonel Petit governor of Fort St. Philip, and deputy governor of the whole island.

The violent measure which seemed at first favourable to the Whig ministry, laid the foundation of its ruin. Harley was now enabled to take more vigorous measures. In him the queen reposed all her trust, though he had no visible concern in the administration. The first triumph of the Tories, was discovered in a transaction of no great importance. The parties of the nation were eager to engage, and they wanted but the watch-word to begin. This was given by a man neither of abilities, property, nor power; but accidentally brought forward on this occasion.

Henry Sacheverel was a clergyman, bred at Oxford, of narrow intellects, and warm imagination. He had acquired some popularity among those who distinguished themselves by the name of high-church men, and had taken all occasions to vent his animosity against the dissenters. At the summer assizes at Derby, he had held forth in that strain before the judges. † On the fifth of November, in St. Paul's church, he, in a violent declamation, defended the doctrine of non-resistance, inveighed against the toleration of dissenters, declared the church was dangerously attacked by its enemies, and slightly defended by its false friends. He sounded the trumpet for the

the zealous. Sir Samuel Gerrard, lord-mayor, countenanced this harangue, which, though very weak both in the matter and style, was published under his protection. These sermons owed all their celebrity to the complexion of the times, and they are now deservedly neglected.

|| Mr. Dolben, son to the archbishop of York, laid a complaint before the house of commons against these rhapsodies, and thus gave force to what would soon have been forgotten. The most virulent paragraphs were read, and the sermons voted scandalous and seditious libels. Sacheverel was brought to the bar of the house, who gloried in what he had done, and mentioned the encouragement he had received to publish them from the lord-mayor, who was then present. Being ordered to withdraw, it was resolved to impeach him of high crimes and misdemeanors at the bar of the house of lords; and Mr. Dolben was fixed upon to conduct the prosecution, in the name of the commons of all England. A committee was appointed to draw up articles of impeachment; Sacheverel was taken into custody, and a day was appointed for his trial before the lords in Westminster-hall.

Meanwhile the Tories were as violent in his defence, as the commons had been in his prosecution. They affirmed, the Whigs had formed a design to pull down the church, and that this prosecution was intended to try their strength, before they would proceed openly to the execution of their project. The clergy

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|| Dec. 13.

did not fail to inflame their hearers; while emissaries were employed to raise a ferment among the populace, already prepared for discontent, arising from a scarcity of provisions which at that time prevailed in almost every country of Europe. The dangers were magnified to which the church was exposed from dissenters, Whigs, and luke-warm prelates. These they represented as the authors of a ruinous war, that brought on that very dearth which they were then deploring. Such an extensive party declaring in favour of Sacheverel, the lords thought fit to admit him to bail.

The eyes of the whole kingdom were turned upon this extraordinary trial, which lasted three weeks, and excluded all other public business. The queen herself was every day present as a private spectator, while vast multitudes attended the culprit each day as he went to the hall, shouting as he passed. The managers for the commons were Sir Joseph Jekyl, Mr. Eyre, solicitor-general, Sir Peter King, recorder, general Stanhope, Sir Thomas Parker and Mr. Walpole. The doctor was defended by Sir Simon Harcourt and Mr. Phipps. While the trial continued, nothing could exceed the violence and outrage of the populace. They surrounded the queen's sedan, exclaiming, "God bless your majesty and the church; we hope your majesty is for doctor Sacheverel." They destroyed several meeting-houses, plundered the dwellings of many eminent dissenters, and even proposed to attack the bank. The queen
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published a proclamation for suppressing the tumults; and several persons were tried for high-treason. Two were convicted, and sentenced to die; but neither suffered.

When the commons had gone through their charge, the managers for Sacheverel undertook his defence with great art and eloquence. He afterwards recited a speech himself, which, from the difference found between it and his sermons, seems evidently the work of another*. In this he solemnly justified his intentions towards the queen and her government. He spoke in the most respectful terms of the Revolution, and the protestant succession. He maintained the doctrine of non-resistance as a tenet of the church, in which he was brought up; and in a pathetic conclusion endeavoured to excite the pity of his audience. He was surrounded by the queen's chaplains, who encouraged and extolled him as the champion of the church; and he was favoured by the queen herself, who could not but approve a doctrine that confirmed her authority.

Men may now be apt to regard with wonder so great a contest from so slight a cause; but the spirit of contention was before laid in the nation, and this person only happened to set fire to the train. The lords, when they retired to consult upon his sentence, were divided: at length, after much obstinate dispute, Sacheverel was found guilty by a majority of seventeen voices; but no less than four and thirty peers entered a protest. He

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* It was wrote by the Rector of Epworth, in Lincolnshire.

was prohibited from preaching for three years; and his two sermons were ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman.

The lenity of this sentence, which was, in a great measure, owing to the dread of popular resentment, was considered by the Tories as a triumph. They declared their joy in bonfires and illuminations. Soon after, he was presented to a benefice in North Wales, where he went with all the pomp and magnificence of a sovereign prince. He was sumptuously entertained by the university of Oxford; and many noblemen in his way, who, while they worshipped him as the idol of their faction, could not help despising him. He was received in several towns by the magistrates in their formalities, and often attended by a body of a thousand horse. At Bridgenorth he was met by four thousand men on horseback, and as many on foot, wearing white knots, edged with gold. The hedges were for two miles dressed with garlands, and the steeples covered with streamers, flags, and colours. The church, and doctor Sacheverel, was the universal cry; and the enthusiasm spread through the whole nation.

Such was the complexion of the times, when the queen thought proper to summon a new parliament; and gave the people an opportunity of chusing representatives to their mind. Few were returned, but such as had distinguished themselves by their zeal against the Whig administration. The Whigs were no longer able to keep their ground. Though they

they had intrenched themselves behind a very formidable body in the house of lords, and though by their wealth and family connexions they had in a manner fixed themselves in office, yet they were now upon the edge of dissolution, and required but a breeze to blow them from their height, where they imagined themselves so secure.

The duke had some time before gone back to Flanders, where he led on the armies to dear-bought victories. The French were dispirited indeed, and rather kept upon the defensive; but still, when forced to engage, they fought with great obstinacy, and seemed to gather courage, as the frontiers of their own country became more nearly threatened.

Peace had more than once been offered in vain. After the battle of Ramillies, the king of France had employed the elector of Bavaria to write letters in his name to the duke of Marlborough. He offered to give up either Spain and its dominions, or the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily to Charles of Austria, and to give a barrier to the Dutch in the Netherlands. But these terms were rejected. The Dutch were intoxicated with success; and the duke of Marlborough had every motive to continue the war, as it gratified not only his ambition, but his avarice; a passion that obscured his shining abilities.

The duke was resolved to push his good fortune. * At the head of a numerous army he came up to the village of Oudenarde, where the French, in equal numbers, were posted. A furious engagement ensued, in which the

G 3

French

* July 9, A. D. 1708.

French were obliged to retire, and took the advantage of the night to secure their retreat. About three thousand were slain on the field of battle, seven thousand were taken prisoners, and the number of their deserters was not a few. In consequence of this victory, Lille, the strongest town in all Flanders, was taken, after an obstinate siege. Ghent followed soon after; while Bruges, and the other lesser towns in French Flanders, were abandoned by their defenders. Thus this campaign ended with fixing a barrier to the Dutch dominions, it only remained to force a way into the provinces of their enemy.

The successes of the allies once more induced the French king to offer terms of peace. In these he was resolved to sacrifice all considerations of pride and ambition, as well as the interests of his grandson of Spain. But the allies rose in their demands, without, however, stipulating any thing in favour of the English. The demands were rejected by France, and that exhausted kingdom prepared for another campaign.

§ Tournay, one of the strongest cities in French Flanders, was the first object of the allied army, which now amounted to one hundred and ten thousand fighting men. Though the garrison of this city did not exceed twelve thousand men, yet the place was
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† Prince George of Denmark died of an Asthma, Oct. 28, aged Fifty-five. He was a brave man, of a good understanding, and a mild and gentle temper; but meddled very little in public affairs, ever after the queen's accession to the crown.

§ June 16. A. D. 1709.

so strong both by art and nature, that the siege promised to hold out long. Nothing could be more terrible than the manner of engaging during this siege. As the besiegers proceeded by sapping, their troops that were conducting the mines frequently met with those of the enemy under ground, and furiously engaged in subterraneous conflicts. The volunteers presented themselves on both sides in the midst of mines and countermines, ready primed for explosion, and added new horrors to their gloomy situation. Sometimes they were killed by accident, sometimes sprung up by design; while thousands of those bold men were thus buried at once by the falling in of the earth, or blown up into the air from below. At length, after an obstinate resistance, the town was surrendered upon conditions.

The bloody battle of Malplaquet followed soon after. The French army, under the conduct of the great marshal Villars, amounting to an hundred and twenty thousand men, were posted behind the woods of La Merte and Taniers, in the neighbourhood of Malplaquet. They had fortified their situation in such a manner with lines, hedges, and trees laid across, that they seemed to be quite inaccessible. What were the duke's motives for attacking them at such a disadvantage are not well known; but certainly this was the rashest attempt during all his campaigns. On the eleventh day of September, early in the morning, the allied army, favoured by a thick fog, began the attack. The chief fury of their impression was made upon the left of the ene-

enemy, and with such success, that, notwithstanding their lines and barricadoes, the French were in less than an hour driven from their intrenchments. But on the enemies' right, the combat was sustained with much greater obstinacy. The Dutch, who carried on the attack, drove them from their first line; but were repulsed from the second with great slaughter. The prince of Orange, who headed that attack, persisted in his efforts with incredible intrepidity, though two horses had been killed under him, and the greater part of his officers slain or disabled. At last, the French were obliged to give way, but they sold a dear victory. Villars being dangerously wounded, they made an excellent retreat under the conduct of Boufflers, and took post near Guesnoy and Valenciennes. The conquerors took possession of the field of battle, on which above twenty thousand of their best troops lay slain. The marshal Villars confidently asserted, that if he had not been disabled, he would have gained a certain victory; and it is probable, from that general's former successes, that what he said was true. Yet, considering the situation of the French, the number of their troops, and the manner in which they were fortified, nothing could be more imprudent than the attack, which cost the lives of so many gallant men, and was attended with so little advantage to the conquerors. Perhaps the duke of Marlborough thought a victory was absolutely necessary to support his sinking interest at the court of Great Britain. His intention

was

was to have given battle before the enemy had intrenched themselves; but prince Eugene insisted upon delaying the action until the reinforcement should arrive from Tournay: and the extraordinary carnage is imputed to the impetuosity of the prince of Orange, whose aim through this whole war, was to raise himself into consideration with the states-general, by signal acts of military prowess. The city of Mons surrendered shortly after to the allied army; and this concluded the campaign.

Though the events of this campaign were more favourable to Lewis than he had reason to expect, yet he once more solicited a conference. However, as his affairs were now less desperate than in the beginning of the campaign, he would not stand to those conditions which he then offered. The Dutch inveighed against his retracting his former offers; not considering that he certainly had a right to retract those offers, which they had rejected. They still had reasons for protracting the war, and the duke took care to confirm them in this resolution. Nevertheless, the French king seeing the misery of his people daily increase, continued to humble himself before the allies; || and a conference was at length begun at Gertruydenburgh, under the influence of Marlborough, Eugene, and Zinzendorff, who were all three, from private motives, entirely averse to the treaty. Upon this occasion, the French ministers were subjected to every species of mortification. Their master was insulted, and their letters
were

|| January. A.D, 1710.

were opened. The Dutch deputies would hear of no relaxation, and no expedient for removing the difficulties that retarded the negotiation. The French commissioners offered to satisfy every complaint that had given rise to the war. They consented to abandon Philip of Spain; they agreed to grant the Dutch a large barrier; they even were willing to grant a supply towards the dethroning of Philip: but all their offers were treated with contempt. They were therefore compelled to return home, after having sent a letter to the states, in which they declared that the proposals made by their deputies were unjust and impracticable. Lewis resolved to hazard another campaign, not without hope that some favourable incident, or some happy change in the ministry of England might procure him more equitable terms.

But though the duke protracted his power on the continent, his influence at home was at an end. When the conferences at Gertruydenburgh were finished, the designs of the Dutch and English commanders were too obvious not to be perceived. Writers of the first rank in literary merit, displayed the avarice of the duke, and the self-interested conduct of the Dutch. They observed, that while England was exhausting her strength in foreign conquests, she was hazarding her liberty at home. They asserted that her ministers were not contented with sharing the plunder of an impoverished state, but, by controlling their queen, were resolved to seize upon its liberties also.

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A part of these complaints was certainly true; but the chief crime of the ministry, in the queen's eye, was their pride, their combinations, and their increasing power. The insolence of the dutchess of Marlborough, who had hitherto possessed more power than the whole privy-council united, was now become insupportable to her. The queen was resolved to seize the first opportunity of shewing her resentment, and such an opportunity was not long wanting.

Upon the death of the earl of Essex, who was colonel of a regiment under the duke, the queen resolved to bestow it on a person she knew was displeasing to him. She therefore sent him word, that she wished he would give it to Mr. Hill, brother to her favourite Mrs. Masham. The duke was struck with this request, which he considered as a previous step to his own disgrace. He represented to the queen the prejudice that would redound to the service from the promotion of so young an officer; never considering that he himself was a younger officer than many of those he commanded. To this the queen made no other reply, but that he would do well to consult his friends. He retired in disgust, and wrote a letter to the queen, in which he begged leave to resign all his employments.

In the mean time the queen, went to the council, where she seemed not to take the least notice of the duke's absence. The whole junto of his friends, which almost entirely composed the council, told her the consequences of disobliging so useful a servant. She, there-

therefore, for some time dissembled her resentment; and even insisted on his continuing in command.

The dutchess now desired an audience of her majesty, on pretence of vindicating her character from aspersions. She hoped to work upon the queen's tenderness, by tears, intreaties and supplications. But the queen heard her without exhibiting the least emotions of tenderness or pity. The only answer she gave, was repeating an insolent expression used in one of this lady's own letters to her. "You desired no answer, and you shall have none."

It was only by insensible degrees, that the queen acquired courage to second her inclinations, and depose a ministry that had long been disagreeable to her. Harley did not fail to inculcate the popularity, the justice, and the security of such a measure; and in consequence of his advice, she began the changes, by transferring the post of lord chamberlain from the duke of Kent to the duke of Shrewsbury, * who maintained an intimate correspondence with Mr. Harley. Soon after, the earl of Sunderland, secretary of state, and son-in-law to the duke of Marlborough, was displaced, and the earl of Dartmouth put in his room. Finding that she was rather applauded than condemned for this resolute proceeding, she resolved to become entirely free.

In these resolutions she was strengthened by the duke of Beaufort, who coming to court on this occasion, informed her majesty that he came once more to pay his duty to the
Queen.

* April 14.

Queen. The whole Whig party were in consternation; they influenced the directors of the bank, to assure her majesty that public credit would be entirely ruined by this change in the ministry. The Dutch moved heaven and earth with memorials and threats, should a change take place. However, the queen went forward: † soon after, the earl of Godolphin was divested of his office, and the treasury put in commission, subjected to the direction of Harley, who was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, and under-treasurer. The earl of Rochester was declared president of the council, in the room of lord Somers. ‡ The staff of lord steward being taken from the duke of Devonshire, was given to the duke of Buckingham; and Mr. Boyle was removed from the secretary's office, to make way for Mr. Henry St. John. The lord chancellor having resigned the great seal, it was first put in commission, and then given to Sir Simon Harcourt. The earl of Wharton surrendered his commission of lord lieutenant of Ireland; § and that employment was conferred upon the duke of Ormond. Mr. George Granville was appointed secretary of war, in the room of Mr. Robert Walpole; and in a word, there was not one Whig left in any office, except the duke of Marlborough.

But the triumph was not yet complete, until the parliament confirmed the queen's choice. * The queen, in her speech, recommended the prosecution of the war with vigour. The parliament were ardent in their expressions of zeal and unanimity. They

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† Aug. 18. ‡ Sep. 21. § Oct. 19, * Nov. 27

exhorted her to discountenance all such measures, as had lately threatened her royal crown and dignity. This was but an opening to what soon followed. The duke of Marlborough, who but a few months before had been so highly carested by the representatives of the people, was now become the object of their hatred. His avarice was justly upbraided; his protracting the war was said to arise from that motive. † To mortify him still more, the thanks of the house were voted to the earl of Peterborough for his services in Spain, but not to the duke for those in Flanders; and the lord keeper, who delivered them to Peterborough, took occasion to drop some reflexions against the mercenary disposition of his rival.—So stable is worldly glory!

Harley still behaved with moderation; and even became suspected by his more violent associates. But an odd event increased his credit with his own party, and fixed him in the queen's favour. * One Guiseard, a French officer, who had made some useful informations relative to the affairs of France, thought himself ill rewarded by a pension of four hundred pounds a-year. He had often endeavoured to get to the speech of the queen, but was still repulsed, either by Harley or St. John. Enraged at these disappointments, he attempted to make his peace with France, and offered his services in a letter to one Moreau, a banker in Paris. His letters were intercepted, and a warrant issued out to apprehend him for high treason. Conscious of his

his guilt, he did not decline his fate, but resolved to sweeten it by vengeance. Being conveyed before the council, he perceived a pen-knife lying upon the table, and took it up without being observed. When questioned before them, he endeavoured to evade his examination, and intreated to speak with Mr. secretary St. John in private. His request being refused, he said, "That's hard! not "one word!" Upon which as St. John was out of his reach, he stepped up to Mr. Harley, and crying out, "Have at *thee* then!" he stabbed him in the breast with the pen-knife which he had concealed. The blade of the knife broke open the rib, without entering the cavity of the breast; nevertheless he repeated the blow with such violence that Harley fell to the ground. St. John instantly drew his sword, and several others following his example, Guiscard was wounded in several places. He still, however, continued to strike and defend himself, till at last he was overpowered by the messengers and servants. His wounds were not mortal; but he died of a gangrene, occasioned by the bruises which he had sustained. This unsuccessful attempt served still more to establish the credit of Harley.

Another measure much recommended the ministry: namely, a bill which they brought in, and passed through both houses. This was an act for building fifty new churches in the city and suburbs of London.

Nothing now remained of the Whig system but the war, which continued to rage as fierce

as ever, and which increased in expence every year as it went on. It was the resolution of the present ministry to put an end to it at any rate, as it had involved the nation in debt almost to bankruptcy; and as it promised, instead of humbling the enemy, only to become habitual to the constitution. However, it was a very delicate point to stem the tide of popular prejudice. The nation had been intoxicated with a childish idea of military glory; and panted for triumphs, which they neither saw nor felt the benefit of. The pleasure of talking of their distant conquests, and of extolling the bravery of their acquaintance, was all the return they were likely to receive for a diminished people and an exhausted exchequer. The first doubts, therefore concerning continuing the war, were introduced into the house of commons. The members made a remonstrance to the queen, in which they complained loudly of the former administration. They said, that in tracing the causes of the national debt, they had discovered great frauds and embezzlements of the public money. They affirmed, that irreparable mischief would have ensued, in case the former ministers had been continued in office; and they thanked the queen for their dismissal.

Having thus prepared the nation, it only now remained to remove the duke of Marlborough from his post, as he would endeavour to traverse all their negotiations. But here again a difficulty started; this step could not be taken without giving offence to the Dutch;

Dutch; they were obliged, therefore, to wait for some convenient occasion. In the meantime the duke headed his army in Flanders, and led on his forces against marshal Villars, who seemed resolved to hazard a battle. But the duke induced the enemy, by marching and countermarching, to quit a strong line of intrenchments without striking a blow, † which he came and unexpectedly took possession of. The capture of Bouchain followed this enterprize, which capitulated after a siege of twenty days; and this was the last military expedition that the duke of Marlborough performed. He ended his campaigns, by leaving the allies in possession of a vast tract of country. They had reduced, under their command, Spanish Guelderland, Limbourg, Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault; they were masters of the Scarpe, and the capture of Bouchain had opened them a way into the very bowels of France.

The duke arrived in England towards the latter end of December. He conferred about half an hour with the queen, and next morning assisted at a committee of the privy-council. Her majesty gave him to understand, that he needed not expect the thanks of Parliament as formerly; and told him she hoped he would live well with her ministers. He expressed no resentment at the alterations which had been made; but resolved to acquiesce in the queen's pleasure, and retain the command of the army on her own terms. On the second day of January, the queen sent a message to both houses, intimating,

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that

† July 25.

that there had been an action in Spain to the disadvantage of king Charles: both houses seized this opportunity of venting their spleen against the old ministry. The history of England is disgraced by the violent conduct of two turbulent factions, that in their turn engrossed the administration and legislative power. The parliamentary strain was quite altered. One can hardly conceive how resolutions so widely different could be taken on the same subject, with any shadow of reason and decorum. Marlborough, who but a few months before had been so highly extolled and caressed, by the representatives of the people, was now become the object of parliamentary hatred and censure. He who had retrieved the glory of the British arms, and checked the ambition of France, was in a few weeks dwindled into an object of contempt and derision. He was ridiculed in public libels, and reviled in private conversation. Instances were every where repeated of his fraud, avarice, and extortion; his insolence, cruelty, ambition and misconduct: even his courage was called in question. So unstable is the popularity of every character that fluctuates between two opposite tides of faction!

The desire of accumulating money, was indeed a passion that attended this general in all his triumphs; and by this he threw a stain upon his character, which all his great abilities have not been able to remove. He not only received a gratuity of six thousand a year, from Medina the Jew, but he was also allowed ten thousand pounds a year from the queen

queen; to this he added a deduction of two and a half per cent. from the pay of the foreign troops maintained by England, and all this over and above his ordinary pay as general of the British forces. In the whole, he had received above five hundred and twenty-three thousand pounds of the public money, which he never accounted for. And probably he had received some millions, by plunder and presents. Poor gain, if he lost his own soul!



C H A P. III.

FOR some time, before the dismissal of Marlborough, a negociation for peace had been carried on between the court of France and the new ministry; desirous as soon as possible to free their country from a ruinous and unnecessary war.

They hoped to obtain such advantages in point of commerce for the subjects of Great Britain, as would silence all detraction. They were not so mindful of the interests of the Dutch, as they knew that people to be too attentive to those interests themselves.

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In order, to come as soon as possible to the end in view, the earl of Jersey, sent a message to the court of France, importing the queen's wish for a renewal of the conference. The message was received with great pleasure at the French court, and an answer was returned, ardently professing the same inclinations. This led the way to a reply, and soon after to a more definitive memorial from the court of France, which was immediately transmitted to the Dutch by the queen, for their approbation.

The states-general having perused the French memorial, assured queen Anne that they were ready to join with her in a durable peace; but they expressed a desire that the French king would be more explicit in his offers towards settling the repose of Europe. In order to give the Dutch some satisfaction in this, a previous conference between the French and English courts took place. After long debates, certain preliminary articles were agreed on, and signed by the English and French minister.

The ministry having got thus far, the great difficulty was, to make the terms of peace agreeable to all the confederates. The earl of Strafford, who had been lately recalled from the Hague, where he resided as ambassador, was now sent back to Holland, with orders to communicate to the pensionary Heinsius, the preliminary proposals, to signify the queen's approbation of them, and to propose a place where the plenipotentiaries should assemble. The Dutch were very averse to begin the conference. They sent over an envoy

to attempt to turn the queen from her resolution, but finding their efforts vain, they fixed upon Utrecht as the place of general conference.

Many were the methods made use of by the Dutch, as well as by the Germans, to frustrate their negotiations. The emperor wrote circular letters to the princes of the empire, exhorting them to persist in their former engagements. His ambassador in London getting a copy of the preliminary articles, had them inserted in a common news-paper, in order to throw blame upon the ministry, and render their proceedings odious to the people. The Dutch laboured to raise a discontent in England against the measures then in speculation. The Whigs in London did not fail to second their efforts with all the arts of clamour, ridicule, and reproach. Pamphlets, libels, and lampoons, were every day published. But the confederates took a step which they hoped could not fail of success. * Prince Eugene came over with a letter from the emperor to the queen. But even his arts were unable to prevail; he found indeed, a polite reception, such as was due to his merits and his fame; but at the same time an intire repulse.

Lewis had by this time depopulated as well as impoverished his kingdom; yet his subjects still flocked to his standard with surprizing spirit and attachment. Under the pressure of extreme misery, they uttered not one complaint of their sovereign; but imputed all their calamities to the pride and obstinacy of their

* Jan. 2. A. D. 1712.

their allies. Exclusive of all the other impositions that were laid upon them, they consented to pay the tenth penny of their whole substance; but all their efforts of loyalty and affection to their prince would have been ineffectual, had not the merchants of the kingdom, by the permission of Philip, undertaken repeated voyages to the South-sea, from whence they brought home immense treasures: while the allies took no steps for intercepting these supplies, though nothing could have been more easy for the English than to deprive the enemy of this great resource, and convert it to their own advantage. Had a squadron of ships been actually employed for this purpose, the subject of France and Spain must have been literally starved, and Lewis obliged to submit to such terms as the confederates might have thought proper to impose.

It may be observed, that many of the motives which first incited each side to take up arms were now no more. Charles of Austria, for whose cause England had spent so much blood and treasure, was, by the death of his elder brother, the emperor Joseph, placed on the imperial throne. There was, therefore, every reason for not supporting his pretensions to the Spanish monarchy. The elector of Bavaria, once intimately connected with the French, was now detached from them; and the Dutch, who had trembled for their barrier, were incroaching upon that of the enemy. Thus almost every power, but France and England had already, all that war could grant. And it was the interest of Eng-
land

stand that her allies should be reinstated in their rights, but not rendered too powerful.

* The conferences began at Utrecht, between the English, the Dutch, and the French Plenipotentiaries. The Emperor and Savoy, and the other allies sent also plenipotentiaries, though with the utmost reluctance. As England and France were the only two powers that were seriously inclined to peace; it may be supposed that all the other deputies served rather to retard than advance its progress. They met rather to start new difficulties, and widen the breach, than to stop it. The emperor insisted upon the Spanish monarchy, refusing to give up the least tittle of his pretensions. The Dutch adhered to the old preliminaries, which Lewis had formerly rejected. They practised a thousand arts to intimidate the queen, to excite a jealousy of Lewis, to blacken the character of her ministry, and to keep up a ferment among the people.

The English ministry were sensible of the difficult task they had to sustain. The confederates were entirely against them; a desperate party at home, who never let any government rest, except when themselves were in power, opposed; none to second their efforts, but the commons and the queen, whose health was visibly declining. They had, indeed, secured the house of lords, by creating twelve new peers in one day; and this turned the balance, in their favour. But in their present situation, dispatch was greatly requisite. In case of their sovereign's death, they had

had nothing to expect but ruin for obeying her commands, unless there was time given to draw the people from the intoxication of their successes, and until the utility of their measures were justified by the people's happy experience. Thus the peace was hastened, and this haste relaxed the English ministers' severity, in insisting upon such advantages as they had a right to demand.

With these views the English ministers, finding multiplied obstructions from their allies, set on foot a private negotiation with France. They stipulated certain advantages for the subjects of Great Britain in a concerted plan of peace. They resolved to enter into such mutual confidence with the French, as would anticipate all clandestine transactions. These articles were privately regulated between the two courts; but being the result of haste and necessity, they were not so favourable to the English interests as might have been expected.

† Mean while the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht delivered their proposals in writing, under the name of specific offers, which the confederates treated with contempt, who, on the other hand, drew up their specific demands, which were considered as highly extravagant by the ministers of France. Conference followed conference; but still the contending parties continued as remote from each other as when they begun. The English, willing to include their allies if possible, departed from some of their secret pretensions, in order to gratify the Dutch with the possession

sion of some towns in Flanders. They consented to admit that nation to a participation of some advantages in commerce. But the queen, finding the confederates still obstinately attached to their first preliminaries, * gave them to understand, that as they would not co-operate with her sincerely, and had made such bad returns for all her condescension, she looked upon herself as released from all engagements.

§ The first instance of displeasure shewn to the confederates, was an order given to the English army not to act upon the offensive. Upon the dismissal of the duke of Marlborough, the duke of Ormond had the supreme command of the British forces; but with particular directions that he should not hazard an engagement. However, he joined prince Eugene at Tournay, who, not being let into the secret, advised the attacking Villars; but he soon found how affairs stood with his coadjutor. Ormond himself seemed uneasy at his situation; and desired permission to return home. But the confederates were loud in their complaints; they expostulated with the ministers at Utrecht; but they were told that letters had been lately received from the queen, in which she complained, that as the states-general had not answered her advances, they ought not to be surprized, if she thought herself at liberty to enter into separate measures.

But the Dutch did not rest here. They had a powerful party in the house of lords, and there they resolved to arraign the conduct

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of

* June 2, § May 10.

of the ministry. Lord Halifax descanted on the ill consequences of the duke of Ormond's refusing to co-operate with prince Eugene, and moved for an address to her majesty to loose the hands of the English general. It was urged that nothing could be more disgraceful to the duke himself, than being thus set at the head of an army without a power of acting. But earl Pawlet replied, that though none could doubt of the duke of Ormond's courage, yet he was not like a certain general who led troops to the slaughter, in hopes that a great number of officers might be knocked on the head, that he might increase his treasures by selling their commissions. The duke of Marlborough, who was present, was so highly affronted, that he sent the earl a challenge the next day; but the message coming to the queen's ears, the duke was ordered to proceed no farther.

In the mean time the allies continued their animosity against the French, and were resolved to continue the war separately. They had the utmost confidence in prince Eugene, their general; and were still superior to the enemy commanded by marshal Villars. But the loss of the British forces was soon felt by the allied army. * Villars attacked a separate body of their troops, encamped at Denain under the command of the earl of Albemarle. Their intrenchments were forced, and seventeen battalions either destroyed or taken. The earl himself, and all the surviving officers, were made prisoners of war. This served to hasten the treaty of Utrecht.

The

* July 13.

“satisfied. The affection of my people, and
 “the providence of heaven are the only
 “guards I ask for my protection.” Both
 houses presented her warm addressees; and the
 ratifications of the treaty being exchanged,
 peace was proclaimed on the fifth of May, to
 the inexpressible joy of the majority of the
 nation.

The articles of this famous peace were
 more warmly debated, than those of any other
 treaty read of in history. The number of
 different interests, and the enmity and jea-
 lously subsisting between all, made it impossi-
 ble that all could be satisfied; and indeed
 there seemed no other method of obtaining
 peace but that which was taken, for the two
 principal powers to make their own articles,
 and to leave the rest for a subject of future
 discussion.

The first stipulation was, that Philip, now
 acknowledged king of Spain, should renounce
 all right to the crown of France. It was
 agreed that the duke of Berry, Philip's bro-
 ther, should also renounce his right to the
 crown of Spain, in case he became king of
 France: and that the duke of Savoy should
 possess Sicily, with the title of king, together
 with Fenestrelles, and other places on the
 continent, which increase of dominion was,
 in some measure, made out of the spoils of the
 French monarchy. The Dutch had that bar-
 rier granted them, which they so long sought
 after; and were put in possession of the
 strongest towns in Flanders. With regard to
 England, its glory and its interests were se-
 cured. The fortifications of Dunkirk, an
 harbour

harbour that might be dangerous to their trade in time of war, were ordered to be demolished, and its port destroyed. Spain gave up all right to Gibraltar, and the island of Minorca. France resigned her pretensions to Hudson's Bay, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland; but they were left in possession of Cape Breton, with the liberty of drying their fish upon the shore. Among those articles, glorious to the English nation, their setting free the French protestants, confined in the prisons and galleys for their religion, was not the least. For the emperor it was stipulated, that he should possess the kingdom of Naples, the dutchy of Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands. The king of Prussia was to have Upper Guelder; and a time was fixed for the emperor's acceding to these articles, as he had for some time obstinately refused to assist at the negociation. Thus Europe was formed into one great republic, * the different members of which were cantoned out to different governors, and the ambition of any one state amenable to the tribunal of all. Thus it appears that the English ministry did justice to all the world; but their country denied that justice to them.

The Dutch and the Imperialists, after complaining of this desertion in their allies, resolved to hold out for some time. But they also soon after concluded a peace, the one by the barrier treaty, and the other by the treaty of Rastadt, in which their interests were ascertained, and the treaty of Utrecht confirmed.

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* March 30. A. D. 1713.

The English being in this manner freed from their foreign enemies, had now full leisure to indulge their domestic dissensions. The two parties never contended with greater animosity, nor greater injustice, against each other. No merit could be allowed in those of the opposite faction, and no knavery seen in their own. The Whigs were all in commotion, either apprehending, or affecting to apprehend, a design in favour of the pretender; nay their reports went so far as to assert that he was actually concealed in London, and that he had held several conferences with the ministers of state.

These reports occasioned archbishop Sharp's taking the liberty of asking the queen in private, Whether she really had any thought or design, of resigning the crown to the Chevalier? She readily replied, "My lord, if I had not a mind, I would not answer that question. But I am glad I have an opportunity of answering it. I love my brother well: but I never had the least thought or desire of resigning my crown in his favour. I would not, if I could: for it can never be good for England, to have a Papist on the throne. And I could not place him upon it, if I would: my people would never suffer it."—This the archbishop related to my father; at whose request he asked her the question.

But while the Whigs were attacking the ministers from without, these were in much greater danger from their own internal dissensions. Harley was created lord Oxford, and St. John, lord Bolingbroke. Though they

they had started with the same principles and designs, yet having vanquished other opposers, they now began to turn their strength against each other. Never were two tempers worse matched to carry on business together. Oxford was cautious, slow, diffident, and reserved; Bolingbroke, hot, eager, impetuous, and proud; the first of great erudition, the latter of great natural capacity; the first bent on maintaining that rank which he had obtained upon the dissolution of the last ministry; the other disdaining to act as a subaltern to a man whom he thought himself able to instruct. Both, therefore, began to form separate interests, and to adopt different principles. Oxford was entirely for the Hanover succession; Bolingbroke had some hopes of bringing in the pretender. But though they hated each other most sincerely, yet they were for a while kept together by the good offices of their friends.

At this period the princess Sophia died in the eighty-fourth year of her age; and her death was intimated to the queen by baron Bothmar, who arrived in England in the character of envoy extraordinary from the elector of Hanover. This princess was the fourth and youngest daughter of Frederick, Elector Palatine, king of Bohemia, and Elizabeth, daughter of King James the first of England. She enjoyed from nature an excellent capacity, which was finely cultivated; and was in all respects one of the most accomplished princesses of the age in which she lived. At her death the court of England appeared

in mourning; and the elector of Brunswick was prayed for by name in the liturgy of the church of England. On the twelfth day of May, Sir William Wyndham made a motion for a bill to prevent the growth of schism, and for the further security of the church of England as by law established. The design of it was to prohibit dissenters from teaching in schools and academies. It was accordingly prepared, and eagerly opposed in each house as a species of persecution. Nevertheless it made its way through both, and received the royal assent; but the queen dying before it took place, this law was rendered ineffectual.

On the ninth day of July the queen thought proper to put an end to the session, with a speech on the usual subjects. After having assured them, that her chief concern was to preserve the protestant religion, the liberty of her subjects, and to secure the tranquility of her kingdoms, she concluded in these words: “But I must tell you plainly, that these desirable ends can never be obtained, unless you bring the same dispositions on your parts: unless all groundless jealousies, which create and foment divisions among you, be laid aside; and unless you shew the same regard for my just prerogative, and for the honour of my crown, as I have always expressed for the rights of my people.”

The queen's constitution was now quite broken. One fit of sickness succeeded another; and what completed the ruin of her health, was the anxiety of her mind. The council-chamber was turned into a scene of obstinate dispute

dispute, and bitter altercation. Even in the queen's presence, the treasurer and secretary did not abstain from mutual reproach. As Oxford foresaw that the Whig ministry would force themselves in, he was for moderate measures. Bolingbroke, on the contrary was for setting the Whigs at defiance. At length, their animosities coming to an height, † Oxford wrote a letter to the queen, containing a detail of public transactions, in the course of which he endeavoured to justify his own conduct, and expose the turbulent and ambitious spirit of his rival. On the other hand, Bolingbroke charged the treasurer with maintaining a private correspondence with the house of Hanover. In consequence of this, and the intrigues of Lady Masham, who now seconded the aims of Bolingbroke, * Oxford was removed from his employments, and his rival seemed to triumph in his new victory.

But this triumph was but of short duration. Bolingbroke for a while seemed to enjoy the confusion he had made; and the whole state being driven into disorder by the treasurer's fall, he sat secure, not considering that he must be called upon to remedy every inconvenience. But the queen's declining health soon began to give him a dreadful prospect of his own situation. As no plan had been adopted for supplying the vacancy of treasurer, the queen was perplexed with the choice, and she had no longer strength left to support the fatigue. It had such an effect upon her spirits, that she declared she could not out-live it, and immediately sunk into a state of lethargic

† May 9, 1714. * July 27.

lethargic insensibility. Notwithstanding all the medicines which the physicians could prescribe, the distemper gained ground so fast, that the 11 day after they despaired of her life, and the privy-council was assembled on the occasion. The dukes of Somerset and Argyll being informed of the desperate state in which she lay, entered the council-chamber without being summoned, not a little to the surprize of the Tory members, who did not expect their appearance. The duke of Shrewsbury thanked them for their readiness to give their assistance, and desired them to take their places. The physicians having declared that the queen was still sensible, the council unanimously agreed, to recommend the duke of Shrewsbury, as the fittest person to fill the place of lord treasurer. When this opinion was intimated to the queen, she said, they could not have recommended a person she liked better than the duke of Shrewsbury. She delivered to him the white staff, bidding him use it for the good of her people. He would have returned the lord chamberlain's staff; but she desired him to keep them both, so that he was at one time possessed of the three greatest posts of the kingdom, under the titles of lord treasurer, lord chamberlain, and lord lieutenant of Ireland. No nobleman in England better deserved such distinguishing marks of his sovereign's favour. He was modest, liberal, disinterested; and a warm friend to his country. Thus Bolingbroke's ambition was defeated, just when he thought himself secure!

All

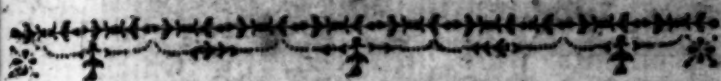
11 July 30. 1714.

All the members of the privy-council, without distinction, being now summoned from the different parts of the kingdom, began to provide for the security of the constitution. They sent a letter to the elector of Hanover, informing him of the queen's desperate situation, and desiring him to repair to Holland, where he would be attended by a British squadron to convey him to England. At the same time they dispatched instructions to the earl of Strafford at the Hague, to desire the states-general to be ready to perform the guaranty of the protestant succession.

On the thirtieth of July, the queen seemed somewhat relieved, rose from her bed about eight o'clock, and walked a little. After some time, casting her eyes on a clock that stood in her chamber, she continued to gaze at it for some minutes. One of the ladies in waiting asked her what she saw there more than usual; to which the queen only answered, by turning her eyes upon her with a dying look. She was soon after seized with a fit of the apoplexy, from which, however, she was somewhat recovered by the assistance of doctor Mead. She continued all night in a state of stupefaction. She gave some signs of life between twelve and one the next day; but expired the following morning, which was the first of August, a little after seven o'clock, in the forty-ninth year of her age.

Anne Stewart, queen of Great Britain, was, in her person, of a middle size, well proportioned. Her hair was of a dark brown colour, her complexion ruddy, her countenance

nance rather round than oval, and her aspect more comely than majestic. Her voice was clear and melodious, and her presence engaging. Her capacity was naturally good, but not much cultivated by learning. She was perhaps deficient in that vigour of mind, by which a prince ought to preserve his independence, and avoid the snares and fetters of sycophants and favourites: but whatever her weakness in this particular might have been, the virtues of her heart were never called in question. She was a pattern of conjugal affection and fidelity, a tender mother, a warm friend, an indulgent mistress, a munificent patron, a mild and merciful princess, during whose whole reign, no subject's blood was shed for treason. She was zealously attached to the church of England from conviction rather than from prepossession, unaffectedly pious, just, charitable and compassionate. She felt a mother's fondness to her people, by whom she was universally beloved, with a warmth of affection, which even the prejudice of party could not abate. In a word, if she was not the greatest, she was certainly one of the best and most unblemished sovereigns that ever sat upon the throne of England; and well deserved the expressive, though simple epithet, of "The good queen Anne."



CHAP. IV.

G E O R G E L

PURSUANT to the act of succession, George the first, son of Ernest Augustus, first elector of Brunswick, and the princess Sophia, grand-daughter to James the first, * ascended the British throne. His mature age, he being now fifty-four years old, his sagacity and experience, his numerous alliances, the general tranquility of Europe, all contributed to establish his interests, and to promise him a peaceable and happy reign. His virtues, though not shining, were solid. Soon after his arrival in England, he was heard to say; "My maxim is, never to abandon my friends; to do justice to all the world, and to fear no man." To these qualifications of resolution and perseverance, he joined great application to business. However, one fault with respect to England remained behind; he studied the interests of those subjects he had left, more than of those he came to govern.

Vol. IV.

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The

* Aug. 1. A. D. 1714.

The queen had no sooner resigned her last breath, than the privy-council met, and three instruments were produced, by which the elector appointed several of his known adherents to be added as lords justices to the seven great offices of the kingdom. Orders also were immediately issued out for proclaiming George king of England, Scotland and Ireland. The regency appointed the earl of Dorset to carry him the intimation of his accession to the crown, and to attend him in his journey to England. They sent the general officers, in whom they could confide, to their posts; they reinforced the garrison of Portsmouth, and appointed the celebrated Mr. Addison secretary of state. To mortify the late ministry the more, lord Bolingbroke was obliged to wait every morning in the passage, among the servants, with his bag of papers, where there were persons purposely placed to insult and deride him. No commotion arose against the accession of the new king, and this gave a strong proof that no measures were ever taken to obstruct his exaltation.

|| The king landed at Greenwich, where he was received by the duke of Northumberland, captain of the life-guard, and the lords of the regency. From the landing place, he walked to his house in the park, accompanied by a great number of the nobility and other persons of distinction, who expected to make their court in this reign, in consequence of their turbulence and opposition to the last. When he retired to his bed-chamber, he sent
for

for such of the nobility as had distinguished themselves by their zeal for his succession. But the duke of Ormond, the lord chancellor, and the lord treasurer, found themselves excluded. Lord Oxford, the next morning, presented himself: but he had the mortification to remain a considerable time unnoticed among the crowd; and then was permitted to kiss the king's hand, without being honoured with any circumstance of respect. To mortify him still more, the king expressed an uncommon regard for the duke of Marlborough, as well as for all the leaders of the Whig party.

The king of a faction, is but the sovereign of half his subjects. Of this, however, the new-elected monarch did not seem sensible. It was his misfortune, that he was hemmed round by men who soured him with all their own prejudices. None but the leaders of a party were now admitted into employment. The Whigs, while they pretended to secure the crown for their king, were with all possible arts confirming their own interests, extending their connexions, and giving laws to their sovereign. An instantaneous and total change was made in all the offices of trust, honour, or advantage. The Whigs governed the senate and the court; whom they would, they oppressed; bound the lower orders of people with severe laws, and kept them at a distance by vile distinctions; and then taught them to call this—Liberty.

These partialities soon raised discontents among the people, and increased the male-

contents thro' all the kingdom. The people only seemed to want a leader to incite them to insurrection. During these commotions, the pretender himself continued a calm spectator on the continent. Then was the time for him to have struck his blow; but he only sent over his emissaries to disperse his ineffectual manifestoes. In these papers he expostulated with his people upon the injustice they had done themselves in proclaiming a foreign prince for their sovereign. But he still continued to profess the truest regard to the catholic religion; and instead of concealing them, gloried in his principles. He expected to ascend the throne against a very powerful opposition, and that by professing the very same principles by which it had been lost.

But however odious popery was to the bulk of the people, the principles of the dissenters were equally displeasing. It was against them, that mobs were excited, and riots became frequent. How violent soever the conduct of either party seemed to be, yet their animosities were founded upon religion. It was now said, by the Tories, that impiety and heresy were daily gaining ground under a Whig administration. It was said, that the doctrines of the true religion, were left exposed on every side, and open to the attacks of the dissenters and Socinians on one part, and of the catholics on the other. The lower orders of clergy sided with the people in these complaints; while the ministry not only refused to punish the delinquents, but silenced the clergy

clergy themselves, and forbade their future disputations on such topics. This injunction answered the immediate purpose of the ministry; it put a stop to the clamours of the populace, but it produced a worse disorder; it produced a negligence in all religious concerns.

‡ The parliament being dissolved, another was called by a very extraordinary proclamation. In this the king complained of the evil designs of men disaffected to his succession. He expressed hopes, that his subjects would send up to parliament the fittest persons to redress the present disorders. He intreated that they would elect such, as had expressed a firm attachment to the protestant succession when it was in danger. It was thus that this monarch was tutored by the faction around him, to look with an evil eye on subjects that never opposed the succession; subjects that detested a popish monarch, and whose only fault was the desire of being governed rather by a king, than a junto of their fellow-subjects who assumed his power. In the election of this important parliament, uncommon vigour was exerted on both sides; but by the activity of the ministry, a great majority of Whigs was returned both in England and Scotland.

Upon the meeting of this parliament, in which the Whigs, with the king at their head, were predominant, nothing was expected but the most violent measures against the late ministry, nor were men disappointed. The king gave the house of commons to understand, that the branches of the revenue, appointed for the support of the civil govern-

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ment,

ment, were not sufficient. He warned them, that the pretender boasted of the assistance he expected in England. He intimated also, that he expected their assistance in punishing such as endeavoured to deprive him of that blessing he most valued, the affection of his people. As the houses were pre-disposed to violent measures, this served to give them the alarm; and they out-went even the most sanguine expectations of the most vindictive ministry.

The lords, in return to the speech, professed their hopes that the king would recover the reputation of the kingdom on the continent, the loss of which they affected to deplore. The commons went much farther: they declared their resolution to trace out those measures by which the country was depressed: to seek after those on whom the pretender seemed to ground his hopes; and to bring them to condign punishment. Mr. secretary Stanhope openly asserted, that notwithstanding the endeavours which had been used by the late ministry to prevent a discovery of their hidden transactions, yet there was sufficient evidence to prove their corruptions and treasons. He added, that these proofs would soon be laid before the house, when it would appear that the duke of Ormond had acted in concert with, if not received orders from, the French general.

The house seemed very well inclined to enter into any impeachment; and there was no restraint to the violence of their measures. It was the artifice, during this and the succeeding

ceeding reign, to stigmatize all those who testified their discontent, as Papists and Jacobites. All who ventured to speak against their measures, were reproached as designing to bring in the pretender. The people, therefore, beheld the violence of their conduct in silent fright, disapproving, yet not daring to avow their detestation.

In this ferment, the former ministry could expect neither justice nor mercy. Bolingbroke had hitherto appeared and spoke in the house as usual. However, his fears now prevailed over his desire to vindicate his character; * and he withdrew to the continent, leaving a letter, in which he declared, that if there had been any hopes of a fair trial, he would not have declined it; but being already pre-judged in the minds of the majority, he thought fit to consult their honour and his own safety.

A committee was soon after appointed, consisting of twenty-one persons, to inspect all the papers relative to the late peace; and to pick out such of them as might serve as subjects of accusation against the late ministry. After some time spent in this, Mr. Walpole, chairman of the committee, declared to the house that a report was drawn up; and moved that a warrant might be issued for apprehending Mr. Matthew Prior, and Mr. Thomas Harley, who, being in the house, || were immediately taken into custody. Then he read the report of the committee, in which a number of charges were drawn out against the

* March 26. || June 9.

the queen's ministers. † Afterwards he impeached lord Bolingbroke of high treason. This struck some of the members with amazement, as there was nothing in the report that any way amounted to treason; but they were still more astonished, when lord Coningsby, rising up, was heard to say, "The worthy chairman has impeached the hand, but I impeach the head; he has impeached the scholar, and I the master. I impeach Robert earl of Oxford, and earl of Mortimer, of high treason, and other crimes and misdemeanors."

When lord Oxford appeared in the house of lords the day following, he was avoided by the peers as infectious; and he had now an opportunity of discovering the baseness of mankind. When the articles were read against him in the house of commons, a warm debate arose upon that, in which he was charged with having advised the French king, of the manner of gaining Tournay from the Dutch. Mr. Walpole alledged that it was treason. Sir Joseph Jekyl, a known Whig, said that he could never be of that opinion. It was his principle, he said, to do justice to all men, to the highest and the lowest. He hoped he might pretend to some knowledge of the laws, and would not scruple to declare upon this part of the question in favour of the criminal. To this Walpole answered, with great warmth, that there were several persons who did not yield to that member in point of honesty, and exceeded him in the knowledge of the laws, and yet were satisfied that the charge amounted

amounted to high treason. This point being decided against the earl, and the other articles approved by the house, the lord Coningsby, attended by the Whig members, impeached the lord Oxford at the bar of the house of lords, demanding, at the same time, that he might be committed to custody. When this point came to be debated in the house of lords, a violent altercation ensued. Many maintained the injustice and danger of such a proceeding. At last the earl himself rose up, and, with great tranquillity, said, "I am
 "accused, for having made a peace; a peace,
 "which, bad as it is now represented, has
 "been approved by two successive parliaments. For my own part, I always acted
 "by the immediate directions and command
 "of the queen my mistress, and never offend-
 "ed against any known law. I am justified
 "in my own conscience, and unconcerned
 "for the life of an insignificant old man.
 "But I cannot, without the highest ingrati-
 "tude, remain unconcerned for the best of
 "queens; obligation binds me to vindicate
 "her memory. My lords, if ministers of
 "state, acting by the immediate commands
 "of their sovereign, are afterwards to be
 "made accountable for their proceedings, it
 "may one day or other be the case of all the
 "members of this august assembly. I doubt
 "not, therefore, that out of regard to your-
 "selves, your lordships will give me an equi-
 "table hearing; and I hope, that in the pro-
 "secution of this enquiry, it will appear,
 "that I have merited not only the indul-
 gence,

“ gence, but the favour of this government.
 “ My lords, I am now to take my leave of
 “ your lordships, and of this honourable
 “ house, perhaps, for ever. I shall lay down
 “ my life with pleasure, in a cause favoured
 “ by my late dear royal mistress. And when
 “ I consider that I am to be judged by the
 “ justice, honour, and virtue of my peers, I
 “ shall acquiesce, and retire with great con-
 “ tent. And my lords, God’s will be done.”

§ Next day he was brought to the bar, where he received a copy of his impeachment, and was allowed a month to prepare his answer. Though doctor Mead declared, that if the earl was sent to the Tower, his life would be in danger, it was carried in the house that he should be committed. The ferment in the house still continued; the earl of Anglesey declared that such violent measures would make the sceptre shake in the king’s hands. This increased the tumult; and though much greater liberties have been since taken by that party against their sovereign, yet Anglesey was then obliged to apologize for this expression.

The violence of the commons was answered with equal violence without doors. To express this an act was passed declaring, that if any persons, to the number of twelve, unlawfully assembled, should continue together one hour after being required to disperse by a justice of peace, or other officer, and after hearing the act against riots read in public, they should be deemed guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy.

On

§ July .11.

On the last day of August the commons agreed to the articles against the earl of Strafford, which being presented to the house of lords, the earl made a speech in his own vindication. He complained that his papers had been seized in an unprecedented manner. He said if he had in his letters, or discourse, dropped any unguarded expressions against some foreign ministers, while he had the honour to represent the crown of Great-Britain, he hoped they would not be accounted criminal by a British house of peers: he desired he might be allowed a competent time to answer the articles brought against him, and have duplicates of all the papers which had either been laid before the committee of secrecy, or remained in the hands of the government, to be used occasionally in his justification. This request was vehemently opposed by the leaders of the other party, until the earl of Illy represented, that in all civilized nations, all courts of judicature, except the inquisition, allowed the persons arraigned all that was necessary for their justification: and that the house of peers of Great Britain ought not, in this case to do any thing contrary to that honour and equity, for which they were so justly renowned throughout all Europe. This observation made an impression upon the house, which resolved that the earl, should be indulged with copies of such papers as he might have occasion to use in his defence.

On the third of September, Oxford's answer to the charges exhibited against him was delivered into the house of lords, from whence it was

was transmitted to the house of commons, Walpole having heard it read, declared that it was a libel on the proceedings of the house, since he endeavoured to clear those persons who had already confessed their guilt by flight.

In consequence of this a committee was appointed to manage his impeachment. By this committee it was reported, that Mr. Prior had, on his examination, behaved with great contempt of their authority. And the duke of Ormond and lord Bolingbroke having omitted to surrender themselves within a limited time, it was ordered that the earl marshal should raze out their names and arms from among the list of peers, and inventories were taken of their estates and possessions, which were declared forfeited to the crown. In this manner an indiscriminate vengeance pursued the persons who composed the late ministry, and who concluded a more beneficial treaty of peace than England ever obtained either before or since.

A man of candour cannot without an emotion of grief and indignation, reflect upon the ruin of the noble family of Ormond, in the person of a brave, generous, and humane nobleman, to whom no crime was imputed, but that of having obeyed the command of his sovereign.

In consequence of these proceedings lord Oxford was confined in the Tower, for two years, during the rebellion which soon followed. But after the execution of some lords, who were taken in arms, he petitioned to be brought to his trial. A day was assigned him,

him, and the commons were ordered to prepare for their charge. At the appointed time the peers repaired to the court in Westminster-hall, where lord Cowper presided as lord high-steward. The king, and the rest of the royal family, with the foreign ministers, assisted at the solemnity. The earl was conducted from the Tower; the articles of his impeachment read, with his answers, and the reply of the commons. As Sir Joseph Jekyl stood up to make good the first article of the charge, which amounted only to a misdemeanor, lord Harcourt represented to the lords, that it would be tedious and unnecessary to go thro' the whole of the charges alledged against the earl; that if those only were proved, in which he was impeached of high treason, he would forfeit his life and estate, and there would be an end of the matter. In this the lords agreeing, the commons declared that it was their undoubted privilege to impeach a peer either for treason, or a misdemeanor, or to mix the accusation as they thought proper. The lords asserted, that it was a right inherent in every court of justice to direct the methods of proceeding in that court. The commons demanded a conference; but this was refused. The dispute grew warm; the lords informed the lower house by message that they would proceed to the trial; the commons disregarded the information, and refused to attend. Soon after the lords repairing to Westminster-hall, and commanding the earl to be brought forth, his accusers were ordered to appear. But none appearing, it was voted that the prisoner

should be set at liberty. To this he owed the security of his title and fortune; for as to the articles, importing him guilty of high treason, they were utterly frivolous; so that his life was in no manner of danger.

The duke of Ormond, was accused in the same manner; Mr. Hutcheson, one of the commissioners of trade, boldly spoke in his defence. He expatiated on his qualifications; he enumerated the services he had performed to the crown; he asserted that the duke had only obeyed the queen's commands, and affirmed that all the allegations against him could not, in rigour of the law, be construed into high treason. His flight was a sufficient answer to these arguments; his opposers being resolved to find him guilty. The night he took leave of England, he paid a visit to lord Oxford, who dissuaded him from flying with as much earnestness, as the duke intreated Oxford to fly. He bid his friend the last adieu, with these words, "Farewell Oxford, without an head." To which the other replied, "Farewell duke, without a dutchy." He afterwards continued to reside chiefly in Spain, an illustrious exile.

The commons were not less determined against lord Strafford, against whom articles of impeachment were voted. However, he was afterwards included with others in an act of indemnity.

In the mean time, these vindictive proceedings excited the indignation of the people, who perceived that the avenues to royal favour were closed against all but a faction. The

mule-

malecontents of Scotland all along maintained a correspondence with their friends in England, who were now driven by resentment and apprehension into a system of politics they would not otherwise have dreamt of. Some of the Tory party, who were men attached to the protestant religion, and of moderate principles in government, began to associate with the Jacobites, and to wish in earnest for a revolution. Scotland first shewed them an example. The earl of Mar assembling three hundred of his own vassals in the Highlands, * proclaimed the pretender at Castletown, and set up his standard at a place called Braemaer, assuming the title of lieutenant general of his majesty's forces. Meantime two vessels arrived in Scotland from France, with arms, ammunition, and a number of officers, together with assurances to the earl, that the pretender himself would shortly come to head his own forces. † The earl of Mar soon after found himself at the head of ten thousand men, well armed and provided. He secured the pass of Tay at Perth, where his head quarters were established, and made himself master of the whole fruitful province of Fife, and all the sea coast on that side of the Frith of Edinburgh. He marched from thence to Dumblain, as if he had intended to cross the Forth at Stirling bridge; but there he was informed that the duke of Argyle was raising forces to give him battle.

L 2

This

* August 16.

† August 21st. Lewis the Fourteenth died, in the seventy seventh year of his age, and the seventy third of his reign.

This nobleman, whose family had suffered so much under the Stuart line, was appointed commander in chief of all the forces of North Britain. * The earl of Sutherland also went down to Scotland to raise forces for the government; and many other Scottish peers followed the example. The earl of Mar being informed that the duke was advancing against him from Stirling, with all his own clans, assisted by some troops from Ireland, at first thought it wisest to retreat. But being soon after joined by some of the clans under the earl of Seaforth, and others under general Gordon, an experienced officer, who had signalized himself in the Russian service, he resolved to face the enemy.

The duke of Argyle apprized of his intentions, resolved to give him battle in the neighbourhood of Dumblain. In the morning, therefore, he drew up his army, which did not exceed three thousand five hundred men; but he soon found himself greatly out-flanked. Perceiving the earl making attempts to surround him, he was obliged to alter his disposition, which was not done so expeditiously, as to be finished before the rebels began the attack. The left wing of the duke's army received the center of the enemy, and supported the first charge without shrinking. It seemed even for a while victorious, as the earl of Clanronald who commanded against it, was killed on the spot. But Glengary, who was second in command, waving his bonnet, cried out several times, Revenge. This animated his troops to such a degree, that

that they followed him close to the points of the enemies' bayonets and got within their guard. A total rout began to ensue of that wing of the royal army; and general Wet-ham, their commander, flying full speed to Stirling, gave out that all was lost. In the mean time, the duke of Argyle, who commanded in person on the right, attacked the left of the enemy, and drove them before him two miles, though they often faced about, and attempted to rally. Having entirely broken that wing, and driven them over the river Allen, he returned back to the field of battle, where, to his great mortification, he found the enemy victorious, and patiently waiting the assault. However, instead of renewing the engagement, both armies continued to gaze at each other; it is probable, neither of them were forward to fight against their friends and countrymen. At evening, both sides drew off, and both sides claimed the victory. Though the possession of the field was kept by neither, yet certainly the honour of the day belonged to the duke of Argyle. It was sufficient for him to have interrupted the progress of the enemy; for in their circumstances, delay was defeat. In fact, the earl of Mar soon found his disappointments and his losses increase. The castle of Inverness, of which he was in possession, was delivered up to the king by lord Lovat, who had hitherto professed to act in the interest of the pretender. The marquis of Tullibardine forsook the earl, in order to defend his own part of the country;

and many of the clans seeing no likelihood of coming soon to a second engagement, returned quietly home; for an irregular army is much easier led to battle, than induced to bear the fatigues of a campaign.

From the time the pretender had formed this project at Paris, lord Stair, the English ambassador there, had penetrated all his designs, and sent home faithful accounts of all his measures, and all his adherents. Upon the first rumour, therefore, of an insurrection, the ministry imprisoned several lords and Gentlemen. The earls of Hume, Wintown, Kinnoul, and others, were committed to the castle of Edinburgh. The king seized Sir William Wyndham, Sir John Packington, and others. The lords Landsdown and Duplin were taken into custody. Sir William Wyndham's father-in-law, the duke of Somerset, offered to become bound for his appearance; but his offer was refused. At this he was greatly disgusted, and spoke some warm words. He was immediately dismissed his majesty's service.

But all these precautions were not able to stop the insurrection in the western counties. However all their preparations were weak and ill conducted, and many revolts repressed in the very outset. The university of Oxford was treated with great severity. Major general Pepper, with a strong detachment of dragoons, took possession of the city at day break, declaring he would instantly shoot any of the students, who should presume to appear out of their respective colleges. The insurrection

in the Northern counties came to greater maturity. In the month of October, the earl of Derwentwater, and Mr. Forster, took the field with a body of horse, and being joined by some gentlemen from the borders of Scotland, proclaimed the pretender. † Their first attempt was to seize upon Newcastle, in which they had many friends; but they found the gates shut against them, and were obliged to retire to Hexham. To oppose these, general Carpenter was detached with nine hundred men, and an engagement was hourly expected. The rebels had two methods, by which they might have conducted themselves with prudence. The one was to march directly into the west of Scotland, and there join general Gordon, who commanded a strong body of Highlanders. The other was to cross the Tweed, and boldly attack general Carpenter, whose forces did not exceed their own. From the infatuation attendant on that party, neither of these measures were pursued. They took the route to Jedburgh, where they hoped to leave Carpenter on one side, and penetrate into England by the western border. This was the effectual means to cut themselves off either from retreat or assistance. A party of Highlanders, who had joined them by this time, refused to accompany them in this desperate irruption, and one half of them returned to their own country. At Brumpton, Mr. Forster opened his commission of general, which had been sent him from the earl of Mar, and there he proclaimed the pretender. They continued their march

to

to Penrith, where the body of the militia, that was assembled to oppose them, fled at their appearance. From Penrith, they proceeded, by the way of Kendal and Lancaster to Preston, of which place they took possession, & without any resistance. But this was their last stage; for general Wills, at the head of seven thousand men, came up to the town to attack them. They raised barricadoes, and put the place in a posture of defence, repulsing the first attack of the royal army. Next day, however, Wills was reinforced by Carpenter, and the town was invested on all sides. In this deplorable situation, Foster hoped to capitulate with the general, and accordingly sent colonel Oxburgh, with a trumpeter to propose a capitulation. This, Wills refused, alledging, that the only favour they had to expect, was to be spared from immediate slaughter. These were hard terms, but no better could be obtained. They accordingly laid down their arms, and were put under a strong guard; all the noblemen and leaders were secured, and a few of their officers tried for deserting from the royal army, and shot by order of a court-martial. The common men were imprisoned at Chester and Liverpool; the noblemen and considerable officers were sent to London, and led through the streets, pinioned and bound together, to intimidate their party.

The pretender might by this time have been convinced of the vanity of his expectations, in supposing that the whole country would rise in his cause. His affairs were desperate;

perate; yet, with his usual infatuation, he resolved to hazard his person among his friends in Scotland. Passing, therefore, through France in disguise, and embarking in a small vessel at Dunkirk, he arrived on the coasts of Scotland, † with only six gentlemen in his train. He passed unknown through Aberdeen to Feterosse, where he was met by the earl of Mar, and about thirty noblemen and gentlemen of the first quality. There he was solemnly proclaimed. His declaration, dated at Commercy, was printed and dispersed. He went from thence to Dundee, where he made a public entry, and in two days more he arrived at Scoon, where he intended to have the ceremony of his coronation performed. He ordered thanksgivings to be made for his safe arrival; he enjoined the ministers to pray for him in their churches; and, without the smallest share of power, went through the ceremonies of royalty. Having thus spent some time in unimportant parade, he abandoned the enterprize with the same levity it was undertaken. Having made a speech to his grand council, he informed them of his want of money, arms, and ammunition, and said that he was compelled to leave them. He once more embarked on board a small French ship that lay in the harbour of Montrose, accompanied with several lords, his adherents, and in five days arrived at Grave-sine.

General Gordon, who was left commander in chief of the forces, proceeded at their head to Aberdeen, where he secured three vessels to sail

fall Northward, which took on board such persons as intended to escape to the continent. He then continued his march through the Highlands, || and quietly dismissed his forces as he went forward. This retreat was made with such expedition, that the duke of Argyle, with all his activity, could never overtake his rear, which consisted of a thousand horse.

In this manner ended an ill-concerted rebellion, that proved fatal to many noble families: a rebellion that, in all probability, would never have happened, had not the violent measures of the ministry, kindled such a flame of discontent in the nation, as encouraged the partizans of the pretender to hazard a revolt. But though the enemy was now no more, the fury of the victors did not in the least abate. The law was now put in force with all its terrors; and the prisons of London were crowded with those deluded wretches. The commons, in their address to the crown, declared they would prosecute them in the most rigorous manner. The earls of Derwentwater, Nithisdale, Carnwarth, and Wintown, the lords Widdrington, Kenmuir, and Nairn were impeached, and upon pleading guilty, all but lord Wintown, received sentence of death. No intreaties could soften the king or the ministry to spare these unhappy men. The countess of Nithisdale and lady Nairn threw themselves at the king's feet as he passed through the apartments of the palace, and implored his mercy in behalf

of their husbands : but their tears and intreaties produced no effect. The countess of Derwentwater, with her sister, accompanied by the dutchesses of Cleveland and Bolton, and several other ladies of the first distinction, was introduced by the dukes of Richmond and St. Albans, into the king's bed-chamber, where she invoked his majesty's clemency for her unfortunate consort. She afterwards repaired to the lobby of the house of peers, attended by the ladies of the other condemned lords, and above twenty others of the same quality, and begged the intercession of the house : but no regard was paid to their petition. Next day they petitioned both houses of parliament. The commons rejected their suit. In the upper house, the earl of Derby expressed some compassion for the numerous family of lord Nairn. Petitions from the rest were presented by other lords, moved with pity and humanity. But lord Townshend and others vehemently opposed their being read. The earl of Nottingham thought this indulgence might be granted : the house assented to his opinion ; and agreed to an address, praying his majesty would relieve such of the condemned lords as should deserve his mercy. To this petition the king answered, that on this and all other occasions, he would do what he thought most consistent, with the dignity of his crown and the safety of his people. The earl of Nottingham, president of the council ; his brother the earl of Aylesbury, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster ; his son lord Finch, one of the lords

lords of the treasury; his kinsman lord Guernsey, master of the jewel-office; were all together dismissed from his majesty's service.

This was no more than the earl of Nottingham expected. He was asked, as he was going to the house, "Where are you going, my lord?" He answered, "I am going to throw away sixteen thousand a-year." One said to the countess, "But what will your Ladyship do?" "Rather," said she, "than my lord shall wrong his conscience, I will tuck up my petticoats, and walk the streets, with a basket of greens upon my head." When he was required to give an explicit answer, what was best to be done with the rebels, he replied, "Set bread and water to these men, and let them return unto their master."

Orders were now dispatched for executing the earls of Derwentwater and Nithisdale, and the viscount of Kenmuir; the others were respite to the seventh day of March. Nithisdale made his escape in woman's apparel, conveyed to him by his mother. On the twenty-fourth day of February, Derwentwater, and Kenmuir were executed on Tower-hill. The former was an amiable youth, brave, open, generous, hospitable and humane. His fate drew tears from the spectators, and was a great misfortune to the country in which he lived. He gave bread to multitudes of people whom he employed on his estate: the poor, the widow, and the orphan rejoiced in his bounty. Kenmuir was a

virtuous

virtuous nobleman, calm, sensible, resolute, and resigned. He was a devout member of the English church: but the other died in the faith of Rome.

To second these vindictive efforts, an act of parliament was made for trying the private prisoners in London, and not in Lancashire, where they were taken in arms. This proceeding was considered, by some of the best lawyers, as an alteration of the constitution of the kingdom, by which it was confirmed, that every prisoner should be tried in the place where the offence was committed. In the beginning of April, commissions for trying the rebels met in the court of common pleas, when the bills were found against Mr. Forster, Mr. Mackintosh, and twenty of their confederates.

* Forster escaped from Newgate, and reached the continent in safety; the rest pleaded not guilty. Pitts, the keeper of Newgate, being suspected of having connived at Forster's escape, was tried for his life, but acquitted. Yet notwithstanding this, † Mackintosh and several other prisoners, broke from Newgate, after having mastered the keeper and turnkey, and disarmed the centinel. The court proceeded to the trial of those that remained; four or five were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Tyburn. Among these, William Paul, a clergyman, attracted peculiar pity: he professed himself a "member of the church of England, but not of that schismatical church, whose bishops had abandoned
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* April 10. † May 4.

their king, and given up their ecclesiastical privileges." How strong soever the taint of faction may be in any man's bosom, if he has any goodness in him, he cannot help feeling the strongest pity for those brave men, who are willing, however erroneously, to sacrifice their lives to their principles. The judges appointed to try the rebels at Liverpool, found a considerable number guilty of high treason. Two and twenty were executed at Preston and Manchester; about an hundred were transported to North America.

Such was the end of a rebellion, at first hastened forward by the rigour of the new ministry and parliament. In running through the revolutions of human transactions, it is a melancholy consideration that in all contentions, we generally find little to applaud on either side. We here see a weak and imprudent party, endeavouring to subvert both the government and religion of their country. On the other hand, we see them opposed by a party, actuated by pride, avarice, and animosity, concealing a love of power under a mask of freedom. Clemency in the government at that time, would probably have extinguished all that factious spirit which has since continued to disturb public tranquility; for that must be a wretched people indeed, that are more easily driven than led into obedience to authority.

A constitution so complicated as that of England, must suffer alterations from time; for some of its branches may gain strength,

while

while others become weaker. At this period, the orders placed between the king and the people, acquired more than their due share of power. The king himself being a foreigner, and ignorant of the laws and constitution of the country, was kept under the controul of his ministers. At the same time, the people, awed by the fears of imputed Jacobitism, were content to give up their freedom for safety. The rebellion extinguished, only served to confirm the arrogance of those in power. The parliament had shewn itself eager to second the views of the ministry; and the pretended danger of the state, was made a pretext for continuing the parliament beyond the term fixed for its dissolution. An act, therefore, was made by their own authority, repealing that by which they were to be dissolved every third year, and the term of the duration was extended to seven years. This attempt, in any delegated body of people, to increase their own power by extending its duration, is contrary to the first principles of justice. If it was right to extend their duration to seven years, they might also perpetuate their authority; and thus cut off even the shadow of nomination. This bill, however, passed both houses, and all objections to it were considered as disaffection. The people might murmur at this encroachment, but it was too late for redress.

On July the fourth, the duke of Argyle, to whom in a great measure the king owed his peaceable accession to the throne, as well as the suppression of the rebellion in Scotland, was removed from all his employments,

and his pension of 2000*l.* a-year taken from him.—Reason good: the ministry could now do without him. However, for decency sake, they might have staid a little longer.

On the fifteenth of the same month, the earl of Sunderland delivered in the house of peers the Act of Grace, which passed both houses with great expedition. From this indulgence were excepted the earl of Oxford, Mr. Prior, Mr. Thomas Harley, Mr. Arthur Moor, Crisp, Nodes, O'Bryan, and a few more. By virtue of this act, the earl of Carnwath, the lords Widdrington and Nairn were immediately discharged; together with all the gentlemen under sentence of death in Newgate, and those that were confined on account of the rebellion, in the fleet, the Marshalsea, and other prisons of the kingdom.

Domestic concerns being adjusted, the king resolved upon a voyage to the continent. He foresaw a storm gathering from Sweden; as Charles the twelfth, the extraordinary monarch of that country, was highly provoked against him for having entered into a confederacy with the Russians and Danes in his absence, and for having purchased the towns of Bremen and Verden from the king of Denmark, which constituted a part of his dominions. George, therefore, having passed through Holland to Hanover, in order to secure his German dominions, entered into a new treaty with the Dutch and the regent of France; by which they agreed to assist each other in case of an invasion.

Nor were his fears from Sweden without foundation. Charles maintained a close correspondence with the disaffected subjects of Great Britain; and a scheme was formed for the landing a considerable body of Swedish forces, with the king at their head, in some part of the island. Charles relished the enterprize which flattered his ambition and revenge: nor was it disagreeable to the Czar of Muscovy, who resented the Elector's offer of joining the Swede against the Russians, provided he would ratify the cession of Bremen and Verden. King George having received information of these intrigues, returned to England towards the end of January; and ordered a detachment of foot-guards to secure count Gyllenburgh the Swedish minister, with all his papers. The other foreign ministers took the alarm, and remonstrated to the ministry upon this outrage committed against the law of nations. The two secretaries, Stanhope and Methuen, wrote circular letters to them, assuring them that in a day or two they should be acquainted with the reasons that induced the king to take such an extraordinary step. They were tolerably satisfied: but the marquis de Monte Leone, ambassador from Spain, expressed his concern, that no other way could be found to preserve the peace of a kingdom, without arresting the person of a minister, and seizing all his papers, which were the sacred repositories of his master's secrets: he observed that, in whatever manner these two acts might be

understood, they very sensibly wounded the law of nations. About the same time, baron Gortz, the Swedish residentiary in Holland, was seized with his papers at Arnheim, at the desire of king George, communicated to the States by his minister at the Hague. The baron owned he had projected the invasion, a design that was justified by the conduct of king George, who had assisted the princes in confederacy against the king of Sweden, without having received the least provocation; who assisted the king of Denmark, in subduing the dutchies of Bremen and Verden; and then purchased them of the usurper; and who had in the course of this very summer, sent a strong squadron of ships to the Baltic, where it joined the Danes and Russians against the Swedish fleet.

* To mend a bad matter, a bill was passed by the commons, prohibiting all commerce with Sweden, the trade with which country was of the utmost consequence to the English merchants. A supply of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds was granted the king, to enable him to secure his dominions against the threatened invasion. These were the first fruits of England's being wedded to the continent; however, the death of the Swedish monarch, who was soon after killed by a cannon-ball at the siege of Fredericshall in Norway, put an end to all disquietude from that quarter.

But this was the age of treaties, subsidies, and political combinations. At that time the politicians of the age supposed that such paper

chains

chains would secure the permanence of dominion; but experience has taught the contrary. Among other treaties concluded with such hopes, was that called the Quadruple Alliance. * It was agreed between the emperor, France, England, and Holland, that the emperor should renounce all pretensions to the crown of Spain, and exchange Sardinia for Sicily with the duke of Savoy; and that the succession to the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, should be settled on the queen of Spain's eldest son, in case the present possessors should die without male issue. This treaty was not agreeable to the king of Spain, and consequently became prejudicial to the English, as it interrupted the commerce to that kingdom. But the interest of England was not the object which this treaty was intended to secure.

On the third of November, the princess of Wales was delivered of a prince, the ceremony of whose baptism was productive of a difference between the grand-father and father. The prince of Wales intended that his uncle, the duke of York should stand god-father. The king ordered the duke of Newcastle to stand for himself. After the ceremony, the prince expressed his resentment against this nobleman in very warm terms. The king ordered the prince to confine himself within his own apartment; and afterwards signified his pleasure, that he should quit the palace of St. James'. He retired with the princess to a house belonging to the earl

* July 22.

earl of Grantham; but the children were detained at the palace. All peers and peeresses, and all privy-councillors and their wives, were given to understand, that in case they visited the prince and princess, they should have no access to his majesty's presence; and all who enjoyed posts and places under both king and prince, were obliged to quit the service of one or other at their option.

The displeasure of the king of Spain soon broke out into open war against the emperor, whom he considered as the chief contriver of this alliance; and a numerous body of Spanish troops were sent into Italy to support Philip's pretensions. It was in vain that the regent of France attempted to dissuade him; in vain the king of England offered his mediation; their interposition was rejected as partial and unjust. War, in the present exhausted state of the English finances, was a real evil; but a rupture with Spain was resolved on, in order to support a very distant interest. ¶ A strong squadron of twenty-two ships was equipped with all expedition, the command of which was given to Sir George Byng, who was ordered to sail for Naples, which was then threatened by the Spanish army. He was received there with the greatest demonstrations of joy, and was informed that the Spaniards, to the amount of thirty thousand men, were then actually landed in Sicily. In this exigence, as no assistance could be given by land, he resolved to sail thither, fully determined to pursue the Spanish fleet on which they had embarked.

Upon

¶ June 4. A. D. 1718.

Upon coming round Cape Faro, he perceived two small Spanish vessels, and pursuing them closely, they led him to their main fleet, which before noon he discovered in line of battle, amounting, in all, to twenty-seven sail. However, the Spanish fleet attempted to sail away, though superior in number. † They made a running fight, and the commanders behaved with courage, in spite of which they were all taken except three, who were preserved by the conduct of one Cammoc, their vice-admiral, a native of Ireland. Sir George Byng behaved on this occasion with equal prudence and resolution, and the king wrote him a letter, with his own hand, approving his conduct. || This victory produced the resentment of the Spanish ministers in all the courts of Europe; and hastened the declaration of war upon the part of the English.

This rupture with Spain, served once more to raise the declining expectations of the pretender. It was hoped that, by the assistance of cardinal Alberoni, the Spanish minister, a new insurrection might be excited in England. The duke of Ormond was to conduct this expedition; and he obtained from the Spanish court a fleet of ten ships of war and transports, having on board six thousand regular troops, with arms for twelve thousand more. But having proceeded * as far as Cape Finisterre, he was encountered by a violent storm, which disabled his fleet, and frustrated the expedition. This misfortune, together with the bad success of the Spanish arms in Sicily, and other parts of Europe, induced Philip to wish
for

† July 31. || Dec. 16. * March 7. 1719.

for peace; and he at last consented to sign the quadruple alliance. This was thought a great acquisition; but England, though she procured the ratification, had no share in the advantage of the treaty.

May 11th, the king embarked for Germany, and having given peace once more to Europe, † returned from the continent to receive the congratulations of his parliament. They then proceeded to an object of much greater importance; the securing the dependency of the Irish parliament on that of Great Britain. One Maurice Annesley had appealed to the house of peers in England, from a decree made by the house of peers in Ireland, and this decree was reversed. The British peers ordered the barons of the exchequer in Ireland to put Mr. Annesley in possession of the lands he had lost by the decree of the lords in that kingdom. The barons of the exchequer obeyed this order, and the Irish house of peers passed a vote against them, as having attempted to diminish the just privileges of the parliament of Ireland. On the other hand, the house of lords in England resolved, that the barons of the exchequer in Ireland had acted with courage and fidelity, and addressed the king to signify his approbation of their conduct. || To complete their intention a bill was prepared, by which the Irish house of lords was deprived of all right of final jurisdiction. This bill was opposed in both houses; but particularly in that of the commons. It was there asserted by Mr. Pitt, that it would only increase the power of the English peers, who

who already were too formidable. Mr. Hungerford demonstrated, that the Irish lords had always exerted their power of finally deciding causes. Notwithstanding all opposition, the bill was carried by a great majority. The people of Ireland were not at that time so well acquainted with their rights and just privileges as they are at present. Their lords then were mostly made up of men bred up in luxury and ignorance; neither spirited enough to make opposition, nor skilful enough to conduct it. It is very extraordinary that this bill, which was a real grievance, produced no commotions in Ireland; and that the coinage of half-pence by one Wood, in England, for the people of that country, which was no grievance, was attended with very great disturbances.

But this blow on the Irish, was by no means so great as that felt by the English at this time, from that spirit of scheming avarice, which had infected all ranks of people. It was but in the preceding year that one John Law, a Scotchman, had cheated France, by erecting a company under the name of the Mississippi, which ended in involving the nation in great distress. It was now that the people of England were deceived by a like project, which is remembered by the name of the South-sea scheme, and which was felt long after by thousands. To explain this as concisely as possible, it is to be observed, that ever since the Revolution, the government not having sufficient supplies granted by parliament, or what was granted, requiring time to be collected, they were obliged to borrow money from several different companies of mer-

merchants; and, among the rest, from that company which traded to the South-sea. In the year 1716 the government was indebted to this company about nine millions and an half of money, for which they gave six per cent. interest. As this company was not the only one to which the government was indebted, and paid such large yearly interest, Sir Robert Walpole conceived a design of lessening these national debts, by giving the several companies an alternative either of accepting a lower interest, namely, five per cent. or of being paid the principal. The different companies chose rather to accept of the diminished interest, than to be paid the principal. The South-sea company in particular having made up their debt to the government, ten millions; instead of six hundred thousand pounds, which they usually received as interest, were satisfied with five hundred thousand. In the same manner the governors and company of the bank, and other companies, were contented to receive a diminished annual interest.

It was in this situation of things that Sir John Blount, who had been bred a scrivener, and was possessed of all the cunning requisite for such an undertaking, proposed to the ministry, in the name of the South-sea company, to buy up all the debts of the different companies, and thus to become the sole creditor of the state. The terms he offered to government were extremely advantageous. The South-sea company was to redeem the debts of the nation out of the hands of the private

proprietors, who were creditors to the government, upon whatever terms they could agree on; and for the interest of this money, which they had thus redeemed, and taken into their own hands, they would be contented to be allowed by government for six years, five per cent then four per cent at any time redeemable by parliament. Thus far all was fair. For these purposes a bill passed both houses; but now came the part of the scheme big with fraud. As the directors of the South-sea company could not of themselves be supposed to possess money sufficient to buy up the debts of the nation, they were impowered to raise it by opening a subscription to a scheme for trading in the South-seas, from which immense advantages were promised and expected by the credulity of the people. All who were creditors to government, were invited to exchange their securities, namely, the government for the South-sea company. They were taught to expect huge advantages from having their money traded with in a commerce to and from the southern parts of America, where it was reported that the English were to have a new settlement granted them by the king of Spain.

The directors books were no sooner opened for the first subscription, but crowds came to make the exchange of government stock for South-sea stock. The delusion was artfully continued. Subscriptions in a few days sold for double the price they had been bought at. The scheme succeeded beyond even the projectors hopes, and the whole nation was infected.

sected. The infatuation prevailed ; and the stock increased to near ten times the value of what was first subscribed for.

On the eighth day of September, the stock began to fall. Then some of the adventurers awoke from their delirium. The number of sellers daily increased. On the twenty-ninth day of the month, the stock had sunk to one hundred and fifty : when several eminent goldsmiths and bankers, who had lent great sums upon it, were obliged to stop payment and abscond. The ebb of this portentous tide was so violent, that it bore down every thing in its way ; and an infinite number of families were overwhelmed with ruin. Public credit sustained a terrible shock : the nation was thrown into a dangerous ferment ; and nothing was heard but the ravings of grief, disappointment and despair. Some principal members of the ministry were deeply concerned in these fraudulent transactions : who, when they saw the price of stock sinking daily, employed all their influence with the Bank to support the credit of the South-sea company. That corporation agreed, though with reluctance, to subscribe into the stock of the South-sea-company, valued at four hundred per cent. three millions, five hundred thousand pounds, which the company was to repay to the bank, on Lady-day and Michaelmas of the ensuing year. Books were opened at the bank to take in a subscription for the support of public credit ; and considerable sums of money were brought in.

By this expedient the stock was raised at first, and those who contrived it, seized the opportunity to realize. But the bankruptcy of the goldsmiths and the sword-blade company, from the fall of the South-sea stock, occasioned such a run upon the bank, that the money was paid away faster than it could be received from the subscription. The South-sea stock sunk again; and the directors of the bank finding themselves in danger of being involved in that company's ruin, renounced the agreement, which they were under no obligation to perform. All expedients having failed, and the clamours of the people daily increasing, expresses were dispatched to Hanover, representing the state of the nation, and pressing the king to return. He accordingly shortened his stay in Germany, and arrived in England on the eleventh day of November.

The parliament being assembled on the eighth day of December, his majesty expressed his concern for the unhappy turn of affairs, which had so deeply affected the public credit at home; and earnestly desired the commons to consider of the most effectual and speedy method to restore the national credit, and fix it upon a lasting establishment. The lower house was too much interested in the calamity to postpone the consideration of that subject. The members seemed to lay aside all party distinctions, and vie with each other in promoting an enquiry by which justice might be done to the injured nation. The lords were not less eager than the commons: tho'

divers members of both houses were deeply involved in the guilt and infamy of the whole transaction. They voted that the estates of all the criminals should be confiscated, and that all the directors or officers of the South-sea company, should be disabled from holding any office in that company, or in the East-India company, or in the Bank of England. The directors delivered inventories of their estates, which were sold towards making good the damages sustained by the company.

* The principal delinquents were punished by a forfeiture of all such possessions and estates as they had acquired during the continuance of this popular frenzy. The next care was to redress the sufferers. Several useful resolutions were taken by parliament, and a bill was prepared for repairing the late sufferings, as far as the inspection of the legislature could extend. Of the profits arising from the South-sea scheme, the sum of seven millions was given back to the original proprietors; several additions were also made to their dividends, out of what was possessed by the company in their own right, and the remaining capital stock was also divided among the old proprietors at the rate of thirty-three pounds per cent.

† Meantime the duke of Orleans, regent of France, was said to give the king information of a recent conspiracy. The first person who was seized, on this pretence, was Francis Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, a prelate long obnoxious to the present government, and possessed of abilities to render him formi-

* January A.D, 1721. † Aug. 24. 1722.

formidable to any ministry he opposed. His papers were seized, and he himself confined to the Tower. Soon after, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, the lords North and Grey, and some others of inferior rank, were imprisoned.

* After bishop Atterbury had remained a month in the Tower, Sir Constantine Phipps presented a petition to the court at the Old Bailey, in the name of Mrs. Morris, that prelate's daughter, praying, that in consideration of the bishop's ill state of health, he might be either brought to a speedy trial, bailed, or discharged: but this was overruled.

A bill was brought into the house of lords, for suspending the habeas-corpus act for a whole year: but they were far from being unanimous in agreeing to such an unusual length of time. By this suspension, they, in effect, vested the ministry with a dictatorial power over the liberties of the people. The opposition in the house of commons was so violent, that Mr. Walpole found it necessary to alarm their apprehensions by a dreadful story of a design to seize the bank and the exchequer, and then proclaim the pretender on the Royal Exchange. Their passions being inflamed by this ridiculous artifice, they passed the bill, which immediately received the royal assent. The duke of Norfolk being brought from Bath, was examined before the council, and committed to the Tower on suspicion of high treason.

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* March 11. A. D. 1723.

This pretended conspiracy, in all likelihood had no existence, otherwise the persons said to be concerned in it must have been infatuated to a degree of frenzy; for they were charged with having made application to the regent of France, who was well known to be intimately connected with the king of Great Britain. The house of commons, however, resolved, that it was a detestable and horrid conspiracy, for raising a rebellion, seizing the Tower and the city of London, laying violent hands upon the persons of his most sacred majesty and the prince of Wales, in order to subvert our present happy establishment in church and state, by placing a popish pretender upon the throne: that it was formed and carried on by persons of figure and distinction, and their agents and instruments, in conjunction with traitors abroad. Bills were brought in and passed, for inflicting pains and penalties against John Plunket and George Kelly, who were by these acts to be kept in close custody during his majesty's pleasure, in any prison in Great Britain; and that they should not attempt to escape on pain of death; to be inflicted upon them and their assistants. Mr. Younge made a motion for a bill of the same nature against the bishop of Rochester. This was immediately brought into the house, though Sir William Wyndham affirmed there was no evidence against him but conjectures and hearsays. The bishop wrote a letter to the speaker, importing, that though conscious of his own innocence, he should decline giving the house any trouble that day, contenting himself

self with the opportunity of making his defence before another, of which he had the honour to be a member. Counsel being heard for the bill, it was committed to a grand committee on the sixth day of April, when the majority of the Tory members quitted the house. It was then moved, that the bishop should be deprived of his office and benefice, and banished the kingdom forever.

The bill being passed and sent up to the lords, the bishop was brought to his trial before them on the ninth day of May. Himself and his counsel having been heard, the lords proceeded to consider the articles of the bill; when they read it a third time, a motion was made to pass it, and then a long and warm debate ensued. Earl Poulet demonstrated the danger and injustice of swerving in such an extraordinary manner from the fixed rules of evidence. The duke of Wharton having summed up the depositions, and proved the insufficiency of them, concluded with saying, that let the consequences be what they would, he hoped such a hellish stain would never suller the lustre and glory of that illustrious house, as to condemn a man without the least evidence. The lord Bathurst spoke against the bill with equal strength and eloquence. He said, if such extraordinary proceedings were countenanced, he saw nothing remaining for him and others to do, but to retire to their country-houses, and there, if possible, quietly enjoy their estates within their own families, since the least correspondence, the least

least intercepted letter might be made criminal. He observed, that Cardinal Mazarin boasted, that if he had but two lines of any man's writing, he could, by means of a few circumstances, attested by witnesses, deprive him of life at his pleasure. Turning to the bench of bishops, who had been generally unfavourable to Dr. Atterbury, he said, he could hardly account for the inveterate hatred and malice some persons bore the learned and ingenious bishop of Rochester, unless they were intoxicated with the infatuation of some savage Indians, who believed they inherited not only the spoils, but even the abilities of any great enemy whom they had killed in battle. The bill was supported by the duke of Argyle, the earl of Seafield, and the lord Lechinere, who was answered by earl Cowper. This nobleman observed, that the strongest argument urged in behalf of the bill, was necessity; but that, for his part, he saw no necessity that could justify such unprecedented and such dangerous proceedings, as the conspiracy had above twelve months before been happily discovered, and the effects of it prevented; that, besides the intrinsic weight and strength of the government, the hands of those at the helm had been still further fortified by the suspension of the habeas corpus act, and the additional troops which had been raised. He said, the known rules of evidence, as laid down at first, and established by the law of the land, were the birthright of every subject in the nation, and ought to be constantly observed, not only in the inferior

courts of judicature, but also in both houses of parliament, till altered by the legislature: that the admitting of the precarious and uncertain evidence of the clerks of the post-office, was a very dangerous precedent. In former times it was thought very grievous, that in capital cases a man should be affected by similitude of hands; but here the case was much worse, since it was allowed, that the clerks of the post-office should carry the similitude of hands four months in their minds. He applauded the bishop's noble deportment in declining to answer before the house of commons, whose proceedings in this unprecedented manner, against a lord of parliament, was such an incroachment on the prerogative of the peerage, that if they submitted to it, by passing the bill, they might be termed the last of British peers, for giving up their ancient privileges.

The other party were not so solicitous about answering reasons, as eager to put the question; when the bill passed, and a protest was entered. By this act the bishop was deprived of all offices, benefices, and dignities; and rendered incapable of enjoying any for the future: he was banished the realm, and subjected to the pains of death, in case he should return, as were all persons that should correspond with him during his exile.

Among the members of the house of commons who exerted themselves in the bishop's favour, was the celebrated doctor Freind, who was himself soon after taken into custody; but he was admitted to bail, his friend doctor

doctor Mead becoming his security. The bishop's sentence being confirmed, in two days after, he embarked for the continent, attended by his daughter. On the same day that he landed at Calais, the famous lord Bolingbroke arrived there on his return to England, having, for some secret reasons, obtained his majesty's pardon. Atterbury being informed of this circumstance, could not help observing with a smile, that they were exchanged. The bishop continued in exile and poverty till he died. The whole affair was doubtless a plot of the ministers, to rid themselves of one that was troublesome to them.

The fate of Mr. Christopher Layer, a young gentleman of the Temple was still more severe. Being brought to his trial at the King's Bench, as having endeavoured to stir up a rebellion, he received sentence of death. The circumstances of this conspiracy were never known. He was reprieved from time to time, and many methods tried to make him discover his accomplices; but still denying the whole, he suffered death at Tyburn, and his head was fixed on Temple-bar.

In the month of October, England lost a worthy nobleman in the death of earl Cowper, who had twice discharged the office of lord chancellor, with equal discernment and integrity. He was profoundly skilled in the laws of his country; in his apprehension quick and penetrating; in his judgment clear and determinate. He possessed a manly eloquence

his manner was agreeable, and his deportment graceful. This year was likewise remarkable for the death of the duke of Orleans, regent of France, who, since the decease of Lewis XIV. had ruled the nation with the most absolute authority. He was a prince of taste and spirit, endowed with shining talents for empire, which he did not fail to display, even in the midst of effeminate pursuits and idle debauchery. From the infirm constitution of the infant king, he had conceived hopes of ascending the throne, and taken his measures accordingly; but the young monarch's health began to be established, and all the duke's schemes were defeated by an apoplexy, of which he died, in the fiftieth year of his age, after having nominated the duke of Bambon as prime minister.

|| These trials were followed by another of a different nature, in which the interests and security of the nation were more deeply concerned. It had been usual for the lords chancellors, upon being appointed to their high office, to nominate the masters in chancery; a place of some value, and then purchased as commissions in the army. Some men of improper characters having been appointed to this office, and having embezzled the money of orphans and suitors lodged in their hands, a complaint was made, which drew down the resentment of the ministry on the lord chancellor himself. He found it necessary to resign the seals; and soon after the king ordered the whole affair to be laid before the house of commons.

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|| Jan. 4. A. D. 1724.

The commons taking the affair into consideration, and finding many abuses had crept into that court, † resolved to impeach Thomas, earl of Macclesfield, at the bar of the house of lords, for high crimes and misdemeanors.

This was one of the best contested trials in the annals of England. A bill was previously brought in to indemnify the masters in chancery from the penalties of the law, upon discovering what considerations they had paid for their admission to their respective offices.

§ The trial lasted twenty days. The earl proved that such sums had been usually received by former lord chancellors; yet reason told that such receipts were contrary to justice. Equity, therefore, prevailed above precedent; the earl was convicted, and condemned to a fine of thirty thousand pounds, with imprisonment, until that sum should be paid; which was discharged about six weeks after.

In this manner, corruption, venality, and avarice had increased with riches. Commerce introduced fraud, and wealth introduced prodigality; while religion, which might have put a stop to these evils, was rather discouraged than promoted by the legislature. This was not what the ministry attended to: but to gratify the sovereign with a continual round of foreign treaties and alliances. It was natural for a king born and bred in Germany, where all sovereignty is possessed upon such precarious tenures, to introduce the

† Feb. 13, 1725, § May 6. &c.

same spirit into Britain, however independent on the rest of Europe. This reign, therefore, was begun by treaties, and the latter part of it was burthened with them: in the whole no less than nine were concluded; the Barrier convention treaty, a defensive alliance with the emperor, the triple alliance, the convention treaty, the quadruple alliance, the congress at Cambray, the treaty of Hanover, the treaty of Vienna, and the convention with Sweden and Hesse-Cassel. All these expensive negociations were mere political play-things; they amused for a while, and are since neglected; the present interests and passions making new, and more natural, connexions.

It must be owned that the parliament now made some efforts to check the progress of vice and immorality, which began to be diffused through every rank of life. But they were supported neither by the co-operation of the ministry, nor the voice of the people. The treaties but just concluded with Spain were already broken; for the spirit of commerce was so eager, that no restrictions could bind it. Admiral Hosier was sent to South America to intercept the Spanish galleons; but the Spaniards * being apprized of his design, relanded their treasure. The greatest part of the English fleet was rendered entirely unfit for service. The sea-men were cut off in great numbers by the malignity of the climate, while the admiral himself is said to

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* June, 1726.

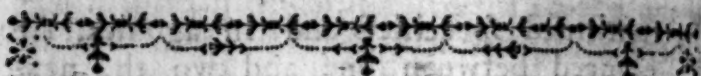
have died of a broken heart. In order to retaliate these hostilities, the Spaniards † undertook the siege of Gibraltar, but with little success. In this dispute, France offered her mediation, and such a reconciliation as treaties could procure was the consequence; a temporary reconciliation ensued, both sides only watching the occasion to renew hostilities.

It was now two years since the king had visited his electoral dominions of Hanover. He, therefore, soon after the breaking up of the parliament, prepared for a journey thither. Having appointed a regency in his absence he * embarked for Holland, and lay, upon his landing, at a little town called Voet. Next day he proceeded on his journey, and in two days more, between ten and eleven at night, arrived at Delden, to all appearance in perfect health. He supped there very heartily, and continued his progress early the next morning, but between eight and nine ordered his coach to stop. It being perceived that one of his hands lay motionless, Monsieur Fabrice, who had formerly been servant to the king of Sweden, and who now attended king George, attempted to quicken the circulation; by chafing it between his own. As this had no effect, the surgeon, who followed on horseback, was called, and he also rubbed it with spirits. Soon after the king's tongue began to swell, and he had just strength enough to bid them hasten to Olmaburg. About ten o'clock he arrived there, and was immediately carried to bed, where he

he continued speechless and in agonies, till he expired between one and two the next morning, June 11. in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

George I. was plain and simple in his person and address; grave and composed in his deportment, though easy, familiar, and facetious in his hours of relaxation. Before he ascended the throne of Great-Britain; he had acquired the character of a circumspect general, a just and merciful prince, and a wise politician, who perfectly understood, and steadily pursued his own interest. With these qualities, it cannot be doubted that he came to England extremely well disposed to govern his new subjects according to the maxims of the British constitution, and the genius of the people: and, if ever he seemed to deviate from these principles, we may take it for granted, that he was misled by the venal suggestions of a ministry, whose power and influence were founded on corruption.

He was married to the princess Sophia, daughter and heiress of the duke of Zell, by whom he had George II. who succeeded him, and the queen of Prussia, mother to Frederic, the present king. The king's body was conveyed to Hanover, and interred among his ancestors.



CHAP. V.

G E O R G E II.

AT the accession of George II. the nation had great reason to wish for an alteration of measures. The public debt, notwithstanding the boasted oeconomy and management of the ministers; notwithstanding the sinking fund, which had been extolled as a growing treasure, sacred to the discharge of national incumbrances, was now increased to fifty millions, two hundred sixty-one thousand, two hundred and six pounds, nineteen shillings, eight pence, three farthings. The kingdom was bewildered in a labyrinth of treaties and conventions, by which it stood engaged in pecuniary subsidies to many powers upon the continent, with whom its real interests could never be connected. The wealth of the nation had been lavished upon these foreign connexions; upon unnecessary wars and fruitless expeditions. Dangerous encroachments had been made upon the constitution by the repeal of the act for triennial parliaments; by frequent suspensions
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of the habeas corpus act upon frivolous occasions; by repealing clauses in the act of settlement; by votes of credit; and above all, by establishing a system of corruption, which at all times would secure a majority in parliament. The nature of the prerogative by which the liberties of the nation had formerly been so often endangered, was now so well understood, and so securely restrained, that it could no longer be used for the same oppressive purposes: besides, an avowed extension of the prerogative required more ability, courage, and resolution, than the present ministry could exert. They understood their own strength, and had recourse to a more safe and effectual expedient. The vice, luxury, and prostitution of the age, the almost total extinction of sentiment, honour, and public spirit, had prepared the minds of men for slavery and corruption. The means were in the hands of the ministry: the public treasure was at their devotion; they multiplied places and pensions to increase the number of their dependents: they squandered away the money of the nation, without taste, discernment, decency, or remorse: they enlisted an army of the most abandoned emissaries, whom they employed to vindicate the worst measures, in the face of truth, common sense, and common honesty; and they did not fail to stigmatize as Jacobites and enemies to the government, all those who presumed to question the merit of their administration.

The supreme direction of affairs was not engrossed by a single minister. Lord Townshend had the reputation of conducting the

external transactions relating to treaties and negotiations. He is said to have understood that province, though he did not always follow the dictates of his own understanding. He possessed an extensive fund of knowledge; and was well acquainted with the functions of his office. The duke of Newcastle, his colleague, was not remarkable for any of these qualifications; he owed his promotion to his uncommon zeal for the illustrious house of Hanover, and to the strength of his interest in parliament, rather than to his judgment, precision, or any other intellectual merit. Lord Chesterfield, who may be counted an auxiliary, though not immediately concerned in the administration, had distinguished himself in the character of envoy at several courts in Europe. He had attained an intimate knowledge of all the different interests and connexions subsisting among the powers of the continent; and he infinitely surpassed all the ministers in learning and capacity. He was indeed the only man of genius employed under this government. He spoke with ease and propriety; his conceptions were just and lively; his inferences bold, his counsels vigorous and warm. Yet he depreciated his talents by a total want both of religion and sincerity; and seemed to look upon the pernicious measures of a bad ministry with silent contempt, rather than with avowed detestation. The interior government of Great-Britain was chiefly managed by Sir Robert Walpole, a man of extraordinary talents, who had from low beginnings raised himself to the head of
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the treasury. Having obtained a seat in the lower house, he declared himself one of the most forward partizans of the Whig faction. He was endued with a species of eloquence, which though neither nervous nor elegant, flowed with great facility, and was so plausible on all subjects, that even when he misrepresented the truth, whether from ignorance or design, he seldom failed to persuade that part of his audience for whose hearing his harangue was chiefly intended. He was well acquainted with the nature of the public funds, and understood the whole mystery of stock-jobbing. This knowledge produced a connexion between him and the money-corporations, which served to enhance his importance. He perceived the bulk of mankind were actuated by a sordid thirst of lucre; he had sagacity enough to convert the degeneracy of the times to his own advantage; and on this, and this alone, he founded the whole superstructure of his subsequent administration. In the late reign he had, by dint of speaking decisively to every question, by boldly impeaching the conduct of the Tory ministers, by his activity in elections, and engaging as a projector in the schemes of the monied interest, become a leading member in the house of commons. By his sufferings under the Tory parliament, he attained the rank of a martyr to his party: his interest, his reputation, and his presumption daily increased; he opposed Sunderland as his rival in power, and headed a dangerous defection from the ministry, which evinced the greatness of his influence

influence and authority. He had the glory of being principally concerned in effecting a reconciliation between the late king and the prince of Wales: he was then re-associated in the administration with additional credit; and, from the death of the earls of Sunderland and Stanhope, he had been making long strides towards the office of prime minister. He knew the maxims he had adopted would subject him to the hatred, the ridicule, and reproach of some individuals, who had not yet resigned all sentiments of patriotism, nor all views of opposition: but the number of these was inconsiderable, when compared to that which constituted the body of the community; and he would not suffer the consideration of such antagonists to come in competition with his schemes of power. Nevertheless, it required all his artifice to elude, all his patience and natural phlegm, to bear the powerful arguments that were urged, and the keen satire that was exercised against his measures and management, by a few members in the opposition. Sir William Wyndham possessed all the energy of elocution; Mr. Shippen was calm, intrepid, shrewd, and sarcastic; Mr. Hangerford, sly, insinuating, and ironical. Mr. Pulteney inherited from nature a good understanding, which he had studiously cultivated. He was one of the most learned members in the house of commons, extremely well qualified to judge of literary productions; well read in history and politics; deeply skilled in the British constitution, the detail of government, and the nature

nature of the finances. He spoke with freedom, fluency, and uncommon warmth of declamation, which was said to be the effect of personal animosity to Sir Robert Walpole, with whom he had been formerly connected.

The house of commons was hitherto distinguished into Hanoverians and Jacobites, but now the parties went by the names of the Court and the Country. Both sides had been equally active in bringing in the Hanover family, and consequently neither was much afraid of the reproach of disaffection. The court party, who were listed under the banners of the ministry, were for favouring all their schemes. They were taught to regard foreign alliances, as conducive to internal security; they considered England as unable to defend herself, and paid other countries for their promises of future assistance. Of these, Sir Robert was the leader; and such as he could not convince by his eloquence, he undertook to buy over by places and pensions. The other side, were averse to continental connexions. They complained that immense sums were lavished on subsidies which could never be useful; and that alliances were bought with money from nations that should rather contribute to England for her protection. As the court party generally alarmed the house of commons with imaginary dangers and conspiracies; so they, on the country side, generally declaimed against the incroachments of the crown. The complaints of neither were founded in fact; the kingdom was in no danger of invasions from abroad, or plots
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at home; nor was the crown, on the other hand, gaining any accession of power, but rather every day losing somewhat of its authority. The king, chiefly attentive to his foreign dominions, regarded but little his prerogative at home; and he could admit of many limitations in England, to be possessed of plenary power in dominions which he loved more.

An express arriving on the fourteenth day of June, with an account of the king's death, his late majesty, king George II, repaired from Richmond, where he received the intelligence, to Leicester-house; and the members of the privy council being assembled, were sworn anew. The king declared his firm purpose to preserve the constitution in the church and state, and to cultivate those alliances which his father had made with foreign princes. At the same time he took and subscribed the oath for the security of the church of Scotland, as required by the act of union. Next day he was proclaimed king of Great Britain. The parliament assembled in pursuance of the act made for that purpose; but was immediately prorogued by commission the twenty-seventh day of the month. All the great officers of state continued in their places: Sir Robert Walpole kept possession of the treasury, and the system of politics which the late king established underwent no sort of alteration. The king, in his speech to both houses at the opening of the session, professed a fixed resolution to merit the love and affection of his people, by maintaining them in

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full enjoyment of their religious and civil rights. He promised to lessen the public expence as soon as the circumstances of affairs would permit. He observed to the commons that the grant of the greatest part of the civil-list revenues was now determined; and that it would be necessary for them to make a new provision for the support of him and his family: and he recommended it to both houses to dispatch the business that should be necessarily brought before them, as the season of the year, and the circumstances of time required their presence in the country. Addresses of condolence and congratulation being drawn up and presented, the commons, in a committee of the whole house, took into consideration a motion for a supply to his majesty. Sir Robert Walpole having observed, that the annual sum of seven hundred thousand pounds granted to and settled on the late king, had fallen short every year; and that his present majesty's expences were likely to increase by reason of the largeness of his family, moved, that the entire revenues of the civil-list, which produced about eight hundred thousand pounds per annum, should be settled on the king during his life. Mr. Shippen opposed this motion, as inconsistent with the trust reposed in them as representatives of the people, who ought to be very frugal in exercising the right of giving away the public money. He said, the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds was not obtained for his late majesty without a long and solemn debate; and every member who contended for it at that time, allowed

allowed it to be an ample royal revenue; that although his majesty's family should be enlarged, a circumstance which had been urged as one reason for the motion, he presumed the appointments of prince Frederic would be much inferior to those settled on his present majesty when he was prince of Wales; besides, it was to be hoped, that many personal, many particular expences in the late reign, especially those for frequent journies to Hanover, would be discontinued, and intirely cease. He observed, that the civil-list branches in the queen's reign did not often exceed the sum of five hundred and fifty thousand pounds; nevertheless, she called upon her parliament but once in a reign of thirteen years, to pay the debts contracted in her civil government; and, these were occasioned by the unparalleled instances of her piety and generosity. She gave the first fruits and tenths, arising to nineteen thousand pounds a year, as an augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy. She bestowed five thousand pounds per annum, out of the post-office, on the duke of Marlborough. She suffered seven hundred pounds to be charged weekly on the same office, for the service of the public: she expended several hundred thousand pounds in building the castle of Blenheim: she allowed four thousand pounds annually to prince Charles of Denmark: she sustained great losses by the tin contract: she supported the poor Palatines: she exhibited many other proofs of royal bounty, and immediately before her death, she had formed a plan of

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retrenchment ; which would have reduced her yearly expences to four hundred and fifty nine thousand, nine hundred and forty one pounds. He affirmed, that a million a year would not be sufficient to carry on the exorbitant expences, so often and so justly complained of in the house of commons : that over and above the yearly allowance of seven hundred thousand ; many occasional taxes, many excessive sums were raised, and all sunk in the bottomless gulph of secret service. Two hundred and fifty thousand pounds were raised in defiance of the ancient parliamentary methods, to secure the kingdom from a Swedish invasion ; then the two insurance-offices were erected, and payed near three hundred thousand pounds for their charters ; our enmity with Sweden being changed into alliance, a subsidy of seventy-two thousand pounds was implicitly granted, to fulfil some secret engagement with that crown : four and twenty thousand pounds were given for burning merchant ships arrived from infected places, though the goods, which ought to have been destroyed for the public safety, were afterwards privately sold ; a sum of five hundred thousand pounds was demanded and granted, for paying the debts of the civil-list ; and his majesty declared, by message, he was resolved to retrench his expences for the future. Notwithstanding this resolution, in less than four years, a new demand of the like sum was made and granted, to discharge new incumbrances : the Spanish

ships of war which admiral Byng took in the Mediterranean, were sold for a considerable sum of money: one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds were granted in the last session, to be secretly disposed of for the public utility; and there was still a debt in the civil government, amounting to above six hundred thousand pounds. He took notice that this amazing extravagance happened under the conduct of persons pretending to surpass all their predecessors in the knowledge and care of the public revenue; that as none of these sums had been accounted for, they were, in all probability, employed in services not fit to be owned. He said, he heartily wished, that time, the great discoverer of hidden truths and concealed iniquities, might produce a list of all such as had been perverted from their public duty by private pensions, who had been the hired slaves, and the corrupt instruments of a profuse and vain-glorious administration.

King George the second ascended the throne in the forty-fourth year of his age. On the second day of September, 1705, he had espoused the princess Wilhelmina Charlotte Carolina, daughter to John Frederic, marquis of Brandenburg Anspach, by whom he had two sons, Frederic Lewis prince of Wales, born at Hanover on the thirty-first day of January, 1707; and William Augustus, born at London, on the fifteenth of April, 1721; she had likewise born four princesses; namely Anne, Amelia, Carolina, Mary,

Mary; and was afterwards delivered of Louisa, married in the sequel to the king of Denmark.

The government at the king's accession owed more than fifty millions; and though there was a continuance of profound peace, yet the sum was continually increasing. It was much wondered at by the country party, how this could happen, and it was no less the business of the court to give plausible reasons for it; and to furnish a new subject of wonder to be debated upon the session ensuing. Thus demands for new supplies were made every session, either for securing friends upon the continent, guarding the kingdom from internal conspiracies, or enabling the ministry to act vigorously in conjunction with the powers in alliance abroad. It was in vain alledged, that those expences were incurred without necessity, and that the increase of the national debt, by multiplying and increasing taxes, would at last become an intolerable burthen. These arguments were offered, canvassed, and rejected; the court party was constantly victorious, and every demand granted with chearfulness and profusion.

About this time, Mr. Oglethorp having been informed of shocking cruelties and oppressions exercised by goalers upon their prisoners, moved the parliament for an examination into these practices, and was chosen chairman of a committee appointed to inquire into the state of the goals of the kingdom. They began with the fleet prison, which they visited in a body.

There they found Sir William Rich, baronet, loaded with irons, by order of Bambridge the Warden, to whom he had given some slight cause of offence: they made a discovery of many inhuman barbarities which had been committed by that ruffian, and detected the most iniquitous scenes of fraud, villany, and extortion. When the report was made by the committee, the house unanimously resolved, that Thomas Bambridge, acting Warden of the Fleet, had wilfully permitted several debtors to escape; had been guilty of the most notorious breaches of trust, great extortions, and the highest crimes and misdemeanours in the execution of his office; that he had arbitrarily and unlawfully loaded with irons, put into dungeons, and destroyed prisoners for debt, under his charge, treating them in the most barbarous and cruel manner, in high violation and contempt of the laws of the kingdom. A resolution of the same nature passed against John Huggins, esquire, who had been Warden of the Fleet prison. The house presented an address to the king, desiring he would direct his attorney-general forthwith, to prosecute these persons and their accomplices, who were committed prisoners to Newgate. A bill was brought in, disabling Bambridge to execute the office of Warden; another for the better regulating the prison of the Fleet; and for the more effectual preventing and punishing arbitrary and illegal practices of the Warden of the said prison.

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¶ The Spaniards were the first nation who shewed how little treaties bind, when any advantage is to be procured by infraction. The extreme avidity of our merchants, and the natural jealousy and cruelty of that nation produced every day incroachments on our side, and arbitrary seizures on theirs. The people of our islands, had long carried on an illicit trade with the subjects of Spain upon the continent, but whenever detected were rigourously punished, and their cargoes confiscated to the crown. In this it often happened, that the innocent suffered with the guilty, and many complaints were made, that the English merchants were plundered by the Spanish king's vessels upon the southern coasts of America, as if they had been pirates.

The English ministry expected to remedy these evils, by their favourite system of treaty. But in vain, till at length, the complaints became general, and the merchants remonstrated to the house of commons, who examined the evidence of several who had been unjustly seized, and treated with great cruelty.

These accounts raised a flame among the people; new negotiations were set on foot, and new mediators offered their interposition. A treaty was signed at Vienna, between the emperor, the king of Great Britain, and the king of Spain, which settled the peace of Europe upon its former footing, and put off the war for a time. By this treaty, the king of

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England conceived hopes that all war would be at an end. Don Carlos, upon the death of the duke of Parma, was, by the assistance of an English fleet, put in peaceable possession of Parma and Placentia, while six thousand Spaniards were quietly admitted, and quartered in the dutchy of Tuscany, to secure for him the reversion of that dukedom.

An interval of peace succeeded, in which scarce any events happened that deserve remembrance. Such intervals, however, are the seasons of happiness; for history is little more than the register of human contention and calamity.

The whole united kingdom of Great-Britain at this juncture enjoyed uninterrupted repose, and commerce continued to increase, in spite of all restriction and discouragement. The people of Ireland found themselves happy under the government of lord Carteret, and their parliament, assembling in the month of September, approved themselves the fathers of their country. They established funds for the discharge of their national debt, and for maintaining the expence of government: they enacted wholesome laws for the encouragement of manufacture, trade, and agriculture; and they formed wise regulations in different branches of civil economy.

During this interval, scarce any contest ensued, except in the British parliament, where the disputes between the court and country party, were carried on with unceasing animosity.

city. Both sides, at last lifted themselves in the cause, not of truth, but of party. Measures proposed by the ministry, though tending to the benefit of the nation, were opposed by their antagonists, who, on their side, were abridged the power of carrying any act, how beneficial soever it might have been. A calm reader, is now surprized at the heat with which many subjects of little importance were then discussed. He now smiles at the denunciations of slavery and ruin, which were entailed upon posterity, and which posterity did not feel. The truth is, the liberty of a nation is rather supported by the opposition, than by the speeches of the opposition; the combatants may be considered as ever standing upon guard, though they are for ever giving a false alarm.

† Two petitions being presented to the commons representing the delays of justice, occasioned by the use of the Latin tongue in proceedings at law; a bill was brought in for changing this practice, and enacting, That all those processes and pleadings should be entered in the English Language. Though one would imagine, that very little could be advanced against such a regulation, the bill met with warm opposition, on pretence that it would render useless the ancient records which were written in that language, and introduce confusion and delay of justice, by altering the established form and method of pleading. But in spite of these objections it passed through

† A. D. 1730.

through both houses, and obtained the royal assent.

|| A society of men in this age of seeming benevolence, united themselves into a company, by the name of the Charitable Corporation; their professed intention was, to lend money at legal interest to the poor, upon small pledges, and to persons of higher rank upon proper security. Their capital was at first limited to thirty thousand pounds, but they afterwards increased it to six hundred thousand. This money was supplied by subscription, and the care of conducting the capital was intrusted to a proper number of directors. This company having continued for more than twenty years, the cashier, George Robinson, member for Marlow; and the warehouse-keeper, John Thompson, disappeared in one day. Five hundred thousand pounds of capital was found to be sunk and embezzled, by means, which the proprietors could not discover. They, therefore, in a petition, represented to the house the manner in which they had been defrauded, and the distress to which many of the petitioners were reduced. A secret committee being appointed to examine into this grievance, a most iniquitous scene was soon discovered, which had been carried on by Thomson and Robinson, in concert with some of the directors, for embezzling the capital and cheating the proprietors. Many persons of rank and quality were concerned in this infamous conspiracy. A spirit of avarice and rapacity had infected every rank

rank of life; no less than six members of parliament were expelled for the most sordid acts of knavery. Luxury had given birth to prodigality, and that was the parent of the meanest arts of speculation. It was asserted in the house of lords, at that time, that not one shilling of the forfeited estates was ever applied to the service of the public, but became the reward of fraudulence and venality.

From this picture of avarice and luxury among the great, it is not wonderful to find instances of deplorable wretchedness among the poor. One Richard Smith, a book-binder, and his wife had long lived together, and struggled with pinching want. Their mutual affection was the only comfort they had in their distresses, which distresses were increased by having a child which they knew not how to maintain. At length, they took the desperate resolution of dying together; but previously their child's throat was cut, and the husband and wife were found hanging in their little bed-chamber. There was a letter upon the table, containing the reasons which induced them to this act; they declared they could no longer support a life of such complicated wretchedness; they recommended their dog and cat to compassion; but thought it tenderness to take their only child with them from a world, where they themselves had found so little compassion.

Trustees having been appointed by charter to superintend a new settlement in Georgia, situated to the southward of Carolina in America, Mr. Oglethorp, as general and governor

vernor of the province, embarked at Gravesend, with a number of poor families to plant that colony. The Dutch were greatly alarmed about this time with an apprehension of being overwhelmed by an inundation, occasioned by worms, which consumed the piles and timber-work that supported their dykes. They prayed and fasted with uncommon zeal, in terror of this calamity, which they did not know how to avert in any other manner. At length, they were delivered from their fears by a hard frost, which effectually destroyed those dangerous animals.

* A scheme was now set on foot by Sir Robert Walpole soon after, to fix an excise on tobacco. The minister introduced it into the house, by going into a detail of the frauds practised by the factors in London, who were employed by the American planters in selling their tobacco. To prevent these frauds, he proposed, that instead of having the customs levied in the usual manner upon tobacco, all hereafter to be imported should be lodged in warehouses appointed for that purpose by the officers of the crown, and should from thence be sold, upon paying the duty of four pence a pound, when the proprietor found a purchaser. This proposal raised a violent ferment, not less within doors than without. So that the parliament house was surrounded with multitudes, who intimidated the ministry, and compelled them to drop the design.

The members of the opposition acquired such strength and popularity by defeating the ministry

* A. D. 1732.

ministry in this scheme, that they resolved to try their forces farther, and made a motion for repealing the septennial bill and bringing back triennial parliaments, as settled at the revolution. In the course of this debate the country party reflected with great severity on the measures of the late reign, and the conduct of the present minister. It was alledged, that the septennial bill was an incroachment on the rights of the people, and that there was no method to overturn a wicked ministry, but by frequent changes of parliament. But the ministry, exerting all their strength, the motion was suppressed by the majority. However, as the country party seemed to grow powerful, it was thought fit to dissolve the parliament, † and another was convoked by the same proclamation.

The leaders of both parties in the new parliament were precisely the same as in the preceding, and the same measures were pursued and opposed with similar animosity. A bill was brought in for fixing the prince of Wales's household at one hundred thousand pounds a year. This took rise among the country party, and being opposed, was thrown out by the courtiers. A scheme was proposed by Sir John Barnard for diminishing the interest on the national debt, and rejected in the same manner.

So little respect did the French court pay to the British nation, at this juncture, that in the month of November an edict was published in Paris, commanding all the British subjects in France, who were not actually in
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employment, from the age of eighteen to fifty, to quit the kingdom in fifteen days, or enlist in some of the Irish regiments, on pain of being treated as vagabonds and sent to the galleys. This edict was executed with the utmost rigour. The prisons of Paris were crowded with the subjects of Great-Britain, who were surprized and cut off from all communication with their friends, and must have perished by cold and hunger, had they not been relieved by the active charity of the Jansenists. But the earl of Waldegrave, who then resided at Paris as ambassador from the king of Great-Britain, made such vigorous remonstrances to the French ministry, upon this unheard of outrage, against a nation with which they had been so long in alliance, that they thought proper to set the prisoners at liberty, and publish another edict, by which the meaning of the former was explained away.

In the month of February the king sent two members of the privy-council to the prince of Wales, with a message, proposing a marriage between his royal highness and the princess of Saxegotha. The proposal being agreeable to the prince, the marriage was celebrated on the twenty-seventh day of April.

In this session, the parliament repealed the old statutes of England and Scotland against witch-craft, and dealing with evil spirits. The commons likewise prepared a bill to restrain the disposition of lands in mortmain, whereby they became unalienable. Against this measure petitions were presented by the two uni-

versities

versities, the colleges of Eton, Winchester, and Westminster, and divers hospitals that subsisted by charitable donations. In favour of the universities and colleges a particular exempting clause was inserted. Several other amendments were made in the bill, which passed through both houses, and obtained the royal assent.

New subjects of controversy offered every day; and the members on each side were ready enough to seize them. A convention agreed upon, at the Prado, with Spain, became an object of warm altercation. By this the court of Spain agreed to pay the sum of ninety-five thousand pounds to the English, as a satisfaction for all demands upon the crown, and the subjects of that kingdom, and to discharge the whole within four months, from the day of ratification. This, however, was considered as no equivalent to the damages that had been sustained; the country party declaimed against it as a sacrifice of the interests of Great Britain to the court of Spain, and alledged that the whole of their demands should be paid, which amounted to three hundred and forty thousand pounds. The ministry were as usual victorious; and the country party finding themselves out-voted in every debate, resolved to withdraw for ever. They had long asserted that all deliberation was useless, since every member had listed himself, not under the banners of reason, but of party. Despairing, therefore, of being able to oppose with success, they retired from parliament to their

seats in the country, and left the ministry an undisputed majority in the house of commons.

On the seventh of September a very remarkable thing was transacted at Edinburgh. John Porteous, who commanded the guard paid by that city, a man of a brutal disposition and abandoned morals, had at the execution of a smuggler been provoked by some insults from the populace, to order his men, without using the previous formalities of the law, to fire with shot among the crowd; by which precipitate order several innocent persons lost their lives. Porteous was tried for the murder, convicted, and received sentence of death; but the queen, as guardian of the realm thought proper to indulge him with a reprieve. The common people of Edinburgh resented this lenity shewn to a criminal who was the object of their detestation. They remembered that pardons had been granted to divers military delinquents in that country, who had been condemned by legal trial. They seemed to think those were encouragements to oppression; they were fired by a national jealousy; they were stimulated by the relations and friends of those who had been murdered; and they resolved to wreak their vengeance on the author of that tragedy, on the very day which the judges had fixed for his execution. Thus determined, they assembled in different bodies, about ten of the clock at night. They blocked up the gates of the city, to prevent the admission of the troops that were quartered in the suburbs. They surprised and disarmed the town guard: they

broke open the prison doors, dragged Porteous from thence to the place of execution, and leaving him hanging by the neck on a dyer's pole, quietly dispersed to their several habitations. This exploit was performed with such conduct and deliberation, as seemed to be the result of a plan formed by some persons of consequence.

‡ A misunderstanding now arose between the king and the prince of Wales; and as the latter was the darling of his people, his cause was seconded by all those of the country party. The prince had been, a short time before, married to the princess of Saxegotha, and the prince taking umbrage at the scantiness of his yearly allowance, seldom visited the court. The princess had advanced to the last month of her pregnancy, before the king had any notice of the event; and she was actually brought to bed of a princess, without properly acquainting the king. In consequence of this, his majesty sent his son a message, informing him, that the whole tenor of his conduct had of late been so void of real duty, that he resolved to forbid him the court. He, therefore, signified his pleasure that he should leave St. James's with all his family, and, in consequence, the prince retired to Kew. This rupture was very favourable to the country interest, as they thus had a considerable personage equally interested with themselves to oppose the ministry. To the prince, therefore, resorted all those who formed future expectations of rising in the state, and

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‡ A. D. 1737.

all who were discontented with the present administration.

Whatever might have been his design in concealing so long from the king and queen the pregnancy of the princess, and afterwards hurrying her from place to place in such a condition, to the manifest hazard of her life, his majesty had certainly cause to be offended at this part of his conduct: though the punishment seems to have been severe, if not rigorous; for he was not even admitted into the presence of the queen his mother, to express his duty to her, in her last moments, to implore her forgiveness, and receive her last blessing. She died of a mortification in her bowels, on the twentieth day of November, in the fifty-fifth year of her age, regretted as a princess of uncommon sagacity, and as a pattern of conjugal virtue.

C H A P. VI.

EVER since the treaty of Seville, the Spaniards in America had insulted and distressed the commerce of Great-Britain, and the British merchants had attempted to carry on an illicit trade in their dominions. A right which the English merchants claimed by treaty, of cutting log-wood in the bay of Campeachy, gave them frequent opportunities of

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pushing in contraband commodities; so that to suppress the evil, the Spaniards resolved to annihilate the claim. This liberty of cutting log-wood had often been acknowledged, but never clearly ascertained; in all former treaties, it was considered as an object of too little importance to make a separate article. The Spanish vessels appointed for protecting the coast continued their severities upon the English; many of the subjects of Britain were sent to the mines of Potosi, and deprived of all means of conveying their complaints to their friends. One remonstrance followed another to the court of Madrid of this violation of treaty; but no reformation followed.

Their guard ships continued to seize not only all the guilty, but the innocent, whom they found sailing along the Spanish main. One instance was this. Captain Jenkins, master of a Scottish merchant ship, was boarded by the captain of a Spanish guarda-costa, who treated him in the most barbarous manner. The Spaniards, after having rummaged his vessel for what they called contraband commodities, without finding any thing to justify their search, insulted Jenkins with the most opprobrious invectives; they tore off one of his ears, bidding him carry it to his king, and to tell him, they would serve him in the same manner should an opportunity offer; they tortured him with the most shocking cruelty, and threatened him with immediate death. This man was examined at the bar of the house of commons, and being asked by a member, what he thought when he found himself

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in the hands of such barbarians? "I recommended my soul to God (said he) and my cause to my country." The behaviour of this brave seaman, the sight of his ear, which was produced, with his account of the indignities which had been offered to the nation and sovereign of Great Britain, filled the whole house with indignation. Jenkins was afterwards employed in the service of the East-India company: he approved himself worthy of his good fortune, in a long engagement with the pirate Angria, during which he behaved with extraordinary courage and conduct; and saved his own ship with three others that were under his convoy.

At last, the complaints of our merchants were loud enough to interest the house of commons; their letters and memorials were produced, and their grievances enforced by counsel at the bar of the house. It was soon found that the money which Spain had agreed to pay to Great Britain was withheld, and no reason assigned. The minister, therefore, to gratify the general ardour, and to atone for his former deficiencies, assured the house that he would put the nation into a condition for war. Soon after, * letters of reprisal were granted against the Spaniards, and this being on both sides considered as an actual commencement of hostilities, both diligently set forward their armaments by sea and land. And now the French minister at the Hague declared his master was obliged to assist the king of Spain; so that the alliances, which but twenty years before had taken place, where

* A. D. 1738.

were quite reversed. At that time France and England were combined against Spain; at present, France and Spain were united against England; such little hopes can statesmen place upon the firmest treaties, where there is no power to compel the observance.

A rupture being now unavoidable, the people, who had long clamoured for war, shewed uncommon alacrity at its approach; and the ministry, finding it inevitable, began to be as earnest in preparation. Orders were issued for augmenting the land forces, and raising a body of marines. † War was declared with all proper solemnity, and soon after two rich Spanish prizes were taken in the Mediterranean. Admiral Vernon was sent commander of a fleet into the West Indies. He had asserted in the house of commons that Porto Bello, a fort and harbour in South America, could be easily destroyed, and that he himself would undertake to reduce it with six ships only. A project which appeared so wild and impossible, was ridiculed by the ministry; but as he still insisted upon the proposal, they complied with his request, hoping his want of success might repress the confidence of his party. But they were disappointed; for with six ships only he attacked and demolished all the fortifications of the place, and came away victorious, with scarce the loss of a man.

As the war began thus successfully, it inspired the commons to prosecute it with all vigour. The minister was granted such supplies as enabled him to equip a very powerful navy.

navy. They voted a subsidy to the king of Denmark, and impowered the king to defray some other expences not mentioned in the estimates of the year. As the preparations for war increased in every part of the kingdom, domestic factions seemed to subside; indeed it seems to have been the peculiar temper of this nation, that every species of activity takes its turn to occupy the people. And this vicissitude turns the current of wealth from one determined channel, and gives it a diffusive spread over the face of the country; it is at one time diverted to the laborious and frugal, at another to the brave, active, and enterprizing.

During the greatest part of this winter, the poor had been grievously afflicted in consequence of a severe frost, which began at Christmas, and continued till the latter end of February. The river Thames was covered with such a crust of ice, that a multitude of people dwelled upon it in tents, and a great number of booths were erected for the entertainment of the populace. The navigation was entirely stopped; the watermen and fishermen were disabled from earning a livelihood: the fruits of the earth were destroyed by the cold, which was so extreme, that many persons were chilled to death; and this calamity was the more deeply felt, as the poor could not afford to supply themselves with coals and fuel, which were advanced in price in proportion to the severity and continuance of the frost. The lower class of labourers,

who worked in the open air, were now deprived of all means of subsistence: many kinds of manufacture were layed aside, because it was found impracticable to carry them on. The price of all sorts of provision rose almost to a dearth; even water was sold in the streets of London. In this season of distress, many wretched families must have perished by cold and hunger, had not those of opulent fortunes been inspired with a remarkable spirit of compassion and humanity. Nothing can more redound to the honour of the English nation, than did those instances of benevolence and well-conducted charity, which were then exhibited. The liberal hand was not only opened to the professed beggar, and the poor that owned their distress: but uncommon pains were taken to find out and relieve those more unhappy objects that from motives of false pride, or ingenuous shame, endeavoured to conceal their misery. These were assisted almost in their own despite. The solitary habitations of the widow, the fatherless and the unfortunate, were visited by the beneficent, who felt for the woes of their fellow-creatures; and, to such as refused to receive a portion of the public charity, the necessities of life were privately conveyed in such a manner as could least shock the delicacy of their disposition.

While vigorous preparations were making in other departments, a squadron of ships was equipped for the South seas; the command of which was given to commodore Anson. This fleet was destined to sail through the streights of

of Magellan, and steering northwards along the coasts of Chili and Peru, to co-operate occasionally with admiral Vernon across the isthmus of Darien. The delays and mistakes of the ministry frustrated that part of the scheme, which was originally well laid. When it was too late in the season, the commodore set out with five ships of the line, a frigate, two store-ships, and about fourteen hundred men. Having reached the coasts of Brazil, he refreshed his men for some time on the island of St. Catharine, a spot that enjoys all the fruitfulness and verdure of the luxurious tropical climate. From thence he steered to the south; and in about five months after, meeting a terrible tempest, doubled Cape Horn. By this time his fleet was dispersed, and his crew deplorably disabled with the scurvy; so that with much difficulty he gained the delightful island of Juan Fernandez. There he was joined by one ship, and a frigate of seven guns. From thence advancing northward, he landed on the coast of Chili, and attacked the city of Paita by night. In this bold attempt he made no use of his shipping, nor even disembarked all his men; a few soldiers, favoured by darkness, sufficed to fill the whole town with terror and confusion. The governor of the garrison, and the inhabitants, fled on all sides; accustomed to be severe, they expected severity. In the mean time, a small body of the English kept possession of the town for three days, and stripped it of all its treasures and merchandize.

Soon

Soon after, this small squadron advanced as far as Panama, situated on the isthmus of Darien, on the western side of the great American continent. The commodore now placed all his hopes in taking one of those valuable Spanish ships, which trade from the Philippine Islands to Mexico. Not above one or two at the most of these immensely rich ships went from one continent to the other in a year; they were, therefore, very large, in order to carry a sufficiency of treasure, and proportionably strong to defend it. In hopes of meeting with one of these, the commodore traversed the great Pacific Ocean; but the scurvy once more visiting his crew, several died, and almost all were disabled. In this exigence having brought all his men into one vessel, and set fire to the other, he steered for the island of Tinian, which lies about half way between the new world and the old. In this charming abode he continued for some time, till his men recovered their health, and his ship was refitted for sailing.

Thus refreshed he set forward for China, where he laid in proper stores for once more traversing that immense ocean. Having accordingly taken some Dutch and Indian sailors on board, he again steered towards America, and at length, after various toils, discovered the Spanish galleon. This vessel was built as well for the purposes of war as of merchandize. It mounted sixty guns, and had five hundred men, while the crew of the commodore did not amount to half that number. However the victory was on the side of the
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the English, and they returned home with their immense prize, which was estimated at three hundred and thirteen thousand pounds sterling, while the captures that had been made before amounted to as much more. Thus after a voyage of three years, conducted with amazing perseverance and intrepidity, the public sustained loss; but a few individuals became possessed of immense riches.

In the mean time the English conducted other operations against the enemy with amazing activity. When Anson set out, it was with a design of acting a subordinate part to a formidable armament, designed for the coasts of New Spain, consisting of twenty-nine ships of the line, and almost an equal number of frigates, furnished with all kinds of warlike stores, near fifteen thousand seamen, and as many land forces. Never was a fleet more completely equipped, nor ever had the nation more sanguine hopes of success. Lord Cathcart was appointed to command the land-forces; but he dying on the passage, the command devolved upon general Wentworth, who was supposed to be unequal to the trust. Likewise the ministry, without any visible reason, detained the fleet in England, until the season for action in America was nearly over. In the country where they were to carry on their operations, periodical rains begin about the end of April, and this change in the climate surely brings on epidemical and contagious diseases. Having at length arrived on the coasts of New Spain, before the wealthy city of Carthagena, they landed

landed their forces, in order to form the siege of this important fortification. This city, which lies within sixty miles of Panama, serves as a magazine for the merchandize of Spain, which is conveyed from Europe thither, and from thence transported by land to Panama, to be exchanged for the native commodities of the new world. The taking of Carthagena, therefore, would have obstructed the whole trade between Old Spain and the New.

To carry on the siege, the troops were landed on the island Tierra Bombay, near the mouth of the harbour, which had been previously fortified by all the arts of engineering. The land forces erected a battery on shore, with which they made a breach in the principal fort, while Vernon, who commanded the fleet, sent a number of ships into the harbour to co-operate with the army. The breach being deemed practicable, a body of troops were commanded to storm; but the Spaniards deserted the forts. The troops, upon this advantage, were a good deal nearer the city: but they there met a much greater opposition than they had expected. The fleet could not lie near enough to batter the town, and nothing remained but to attempt one of the forts by scaling. The leaders of the fleet and the army began to accuse each other; each asserting the probability of what the other denied. At length, Wentworth, resolved to try the dangerous experiment, and ordered that fort St. Lazare should be attempted by scalade. Nothing could be more

unfortunate than this undertaking; the forces marching up to the attack, their guides were slain, and they mistook their way. Instead of attempting the weakest part of the fort, they advanced to the strongest, and where they were exposed to the fire of the town. Colonel Grant, who commanded the grenadiers, was killed in the beginning. Soon after, it was found that their scaling ladders were too short; the officers were perplexed for want of orders, and the troops stood exposed to the whole fire of the enemy, without knowing how to proceed. After bearing a dreadful fire for some hours, they at length retreated, leaving six hundred men dead upon the spot. The terrors of the climate soon began to be more dreadful than those of war; the rainy season began with such violence, that it was impossible for the troops to continue incamped; and the mortality of the season now attacked them in all its frightful varieties. To these calamities was added the dissension between the land and sea commanders, who blamed each other for every failure. They at last agreed in one mortifying measure, which was to reembark the troops, and to withdraw them as quick as possible from this scene of slaughter and contagion.

The fortifications near the harbour being demolished, the troops were conveyed to Jamaica, and this island, which of itself is sufficiently unhealthy, was considered as a paradise to that from which they had escaped. This fatal miscarriage was no sooner known in England, than the kingdom was filled with discontent. To this cause of complaint

several others were added. The inactivity of the English fleet at home was among the principal. Sir John Norris had twice sailed to the coasts of Spain, at the head of a very powerful squadron, without doing any thing to annoy the enemy. The Spanish privateers annoyed commerce with great success, having taken since the commencement of the war, four hundred and seven ships belonging to the subjects of Great Britain. The English, though at an immense expence in equipping fleets, suffered one loss after another without reprisal. This universal discontent had a manifest influence upon the general election which followed * soon after; and the complaints against the minister became so general, that he began to tremble for his safety. All the adherents of the prince of Wales, who continued to live retired from court, as private gentlemen, concurred in the opposition. Obstinate struggles were maintained in all parts of the kingdom; and such a national spirit prevailed, that the country interest now at last seemed to preponderate.

The minister finding the strength of the house of commons turned against him, tried every art to break that confederacy. His first attempt was to disengage the prince from his party. The bishop of Oxford was accordingly sent to him, with an offer, that if he would write a letter of submission to the king, he and all his counsellors should be taken in to favour; fifty thousand pounds should be added to his revenue, two hundred thousand should be granted him to pay his debts, and provision should be made for all his followers.

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This was a tempting offer. However the prince refused it, declaring he would accept of no conditions, during the influence of such a minister.

Walpole now saw that his power was at an end; and he even feared for his person. The resentment of the people had been raised against him to an extravagant height; and their leaders taught them to expect very signal justice on their supposed oppressor. The first occasion he had to try the house of commons was in debating upon some disputed elections. In the first of these, which was heard at the bar of the house, he carried his point by a majority of six only, and this he looked upon as a defeat rather than a victory. A petition, presented by the electors of Westminster, complaining of an undue election, which had been carried on by the unjust influence of the ministry, was next presented to the house. Sir Robert laboured with all his art to over-rule their petition; the house entered into the discussion, and carried it against him by a majority of four voices. He resolved to try his strength once more, in another disputed election, and had the mortification to see the majority against him augmented to sixteen. He then declared he would never sit more in that house; and the next day the king adjourned both houses of parliament for a few days, and in the interim Sir Robert Walpole, was created earl of Orford, and resigned all his employments.

Nothing could give the people more general satisfaction than this minister's deposition.

Every

Every person now flattered himself, that every domestic grievance would be redressed; that commerce would be protected; that the expensive subsidies to foreign states would be retrenched, and that the house of commons would be unanimous in every good measure. But they soon found themselves miserably deceived. Those who clamoured most against him, when put into power, exactly adopted all his measures.

At no time did this minister acquit himself with such art as on the present occasion. The country party consisted of Tories, reinforced by discontented Whigs; the former, implacable in their resentments against him, could not be mollified; the latter, either soured by disappointment, or incited by ambition, only wished his removal. To these, Walpole applied, and granted them that power they aimed at, in return for which he only demanded impunity. The offer was accepted with pleasure; their Tory friends were instantly abandoned; and a breach thus ensuing, the same opposition continued against the new ministry, that had obtained against the old.

The place of chancellor of the Exchequer was bestowed on Mr. Sandys, who was likewise appointed a lord of the treasury. Lord Harrington was declared president of the council; and in his room lord Carteret became secretary of state. Mr. Pulteney was sworn of the privy-council, and afterwards created earl of Bath. The reconciliation between the king and the prince of Wales took place.

place soon after; and the change in the ministry was celebrated by rejoicings over the whole nation.

But this transport was of short duration; it soon appeared that those who declaimed most loudly for the liberties of the people, had adopted new measures with their new employments. The new converts were branded as betrayers of their country; but particularly the resentment of the people fell upon the earl of Bath, who had long declaimed against that very conduct he now seemed earnest to pursue. He had been the idol of the people, and considered as one of the most illustrious champions that had ever defended the cause of freedom; till being allured with the hope of governing in Walpole's place, he was contented to give up his popularity for ambition. But the king treated him with neglect; he was laid aside for life, and continued a wretched survivor of all his former importance.

The war with Spain had now continued for several years, and was attended with but indifferent fortune. Some unsuccessful expeditions had been carried on in the West-Indies, and the failure of these was aggravated by the political writers of the day; a class of beings that had risen up during this and the preceding administration, at first employed against Walpole, and afterwards taken in to pay by him. Dull, and without principle, they made themselves agreeable to the public by impudence and abuse. These had for
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some time disgusted the nation with operations by sea, and taught them to wish for better fortune on land. The people became ripe for renewing their victories in Flanders, and the king desired nothing with so much ardour. It was resolved, therefore, to send a powerful body of men into the Netherlands to join in the quarrels that were beginning on the continent; and immense triumphs were expected from such an undertaking, which the king resolved to conduct in person.

An army of sixteen thousand men were therefore shipped over into Flanders, and the war with Spain became but an object of secondary consideration.

To have a clear idea of the origin of the troubles on the continent, it will be necessary to go back for some years. After the duke of Orleans, who had been regent of France, died, cardinal Fleury undertook to settle the great confusion in which that luxurious prince had left the kingdom. His moderation and prudence were equally conspicuous; he was sincere, frugal, modest and simple: under him, therefore, France repaired her losses, and enriched herself by commerce; he only left the state to its own natural methods of thriving, and he saw it every day assuming its former health and vigour.

During the long interval of peace, which this minister's counsels had procured for Europe, two powers, till now unregarded, began to attract the notice and jealousy of the neighbouring

bouring nations. Peter the Great had already civilized Russia, and this new created extensive empire began to influence the councils of other nations, and to give laws to the North. The other power that came into notice, was that of the king of Prussia, whose dominions were compact and populous, and whose forces were well maintained and ready for action.

The other states were but little improved. The empire remained under the government of Charles the sixth, who had been placed upon the throne by the treaty of Utrecht. Sweden continued to languish, being not yet recovered from the destructive projects of her darling monarch, Charles the twelfth. Denmark was powerful enough, but inclined to peace; and part of Italy still remained subject to those princes who had been imposed upon it by foreign treaties.

All these states continued to enjoy a profound peace, until the death of Augustus, king of Poland, by which a general flame was once more kindled in Europe. The emperor, assisted by the arms of Russia, declared for the elector of Saxony, son to the deceased king. On the other hand, France declared for Stanislaus, who long since had been nominated king of the Poles by Charles of Sweden, and whose daughter the king of France had since married. In order to drive forward his pretensions, Stanislaus repaired to Dantzick, where the people gladly received him. But his triumph was short; ten thousand Russians

appearing before the place, the Polish nobility dispersed, and Stanislaus was besieged by this small body of forces. But though the city was taken, the king escaped by night. France, however, resolved to continue her assistance to him, and this it was supposed would be most effectually done by distressing the house of Austria.

The views of France were seconded by the kings of Spain and Sardinia, hoping to grow more powerful by a division of the spoils of Austria. A French army, therefore, soon over-ran the empire; while the duke of Montemar, the general of Spain, was equally victorious in the kingdom of Naples. Thus the emperor had the mortification to see his own dominions ravaged, and a great part of Italy torn from him.

These rapid successes of France and its allies, soon compelled the emperor to demand a peace. It was accordingly granted him; but Stanislaus, upon whose account the war was begun, was neglected in the treaty. It was stipulated that he should renounce all claim to the crown of Poland, for which the emperor gratified France with the dutchy of Lorraine.

The emperor dying in the year 1740, the French thought this a favourable opportunity for exerting their ambition once more. Regardless of treaties, by which the reversion of all the late emperor's dominions was settled upon his daughter, they caused the elector of Bavaria to be crowned emperor. Thus the queen of Hungary, daughter of Charles the

the sixth, descended from an illustrious line of emperors, saw herself stripped of her inheritance, and left for a whole year deserted by all Europe. She had scarce closed her father's eyes, when she lost Silesia, by an irruption of the young king of Prussia, who seized the opportunity of her defenceless state to renew his ancient pretensions to that province, of which it must be owned his ancestors had been unjustly deprived. France, Saxony, and Bavaria, attacked the rest of her dominions; England was the only ally willing to espouse her helpless condition. Sardinia, and Holland, soon after came to her assistance, and last of all Russia acceded to the union in her favour.

When the parliament met, his majesty began by informing them of his strict adherence to engagements; and that he had sent a body of English forces into the Netherlands, which he had augmented by sixteen thousand Hanoverians, to make a diversion upon the dominions of France, in the queen of Hungary's favour. When the supplies came to be considered, by which this additional number of Hanoverian troops was to be paid by England for defending their own cause, it produced most violent debates in both houses of parliament. It was considered as an imposition upon the nation, to pay foreign troops for fighting their own battles, and the ministry were pressed by their own arguments, against such measures before they came into power. They were not ashamed, however, boldly to defend them, and by the strength of numbers, carried their cause.

The

The people now saw their former defenders turned against themselves; patriotism they saw was an empty name, and knew not on whom to rely, since the boldest professors of liberty were purchased at an easy rate. But however, these measures served to retrieve the queen of Hungary's desperate affairs. The scale of victory soon turned on her side. The French were driven out of Bohemia. Her general, prince Charles, at the head of a large army, invaded the dominions of Bavaria. Her rival, the nominal emperor, was obliged to fly before her; and being abandoned by his allies, and stripped of even his hereditary dominions, retired to Franckfort, where he lived in obscurity.

The French, who had begun as allies, were now obliged to sustain the whole burthen of the war, and accordingly faced their enemies invading them on every side of their dominions. The troops sent to the queen's assistance by England were commanded by the earl of Stair, an experienced general, who had learned the art of war under the famous prince Eugene. The chief object which he had in view in the beginning was to effect a junction with the queen's army, commanded by prince Charles of Lorrain. The French, in order to prevent this junction, assembled an army of sixty thousand men upon the river Mayne, under the command of marshal Noailles, who posted his troops upon the east side of that river. † The British forces, to the number of forty thousand, pushed forward on the other side into a country, where they found them-

† A. D. 1743.

themselves entirely destitute of provisions, the French having cut off all means of their being supplied. The king of England arrived at the camp, while his army was in this deplorable situation; wherefore he resolved to penetrate forward to join twelve thousand Hanoverians and Hessians, who had reached Hanau. With this view he decamped; but before his army had marched three leagues, he found the enemy had inclosed him on every side, near a village called Dettingen.

Nothing now presented but the most mortifying prospects; if he fought the enemy, it must be at the greatest disadvantage; if he continued inactive, there was a certainty of being starved; and retreat was impossible. The impetuosity of the French troops saved his whole army. They passed a defile, which they should have been contented to guard; and under the conduct of the duke of Gramont, their horse charged the English foot with great fury. They were received, however, with intrepidity; so that they were obliged to give way, and repass the Mayne with precipitation, with the loss of about five thousand men. Had they been properly pursued before they recollected themselves from their first confusion, in all probability they would have sustained a total overthrow. The earl of Stair proposed, that a body of cavalry should be detached on this service; but, his advice was over-ruled. The loss of the allies in this action amounted to two thousand men. The generals, Clayton and Monroe, were killed.

killed: the duke of Cumberland, who exhibited uncommon proofs of courage, was shot through the calf of the leg: the earl of Albemarle, general Huske, and several other officers of distinction, were wounded. The king exposed his person to a severe fire of cannon, as well as musquetry: he rode between the first and second lines with his sword drawn, and encouraged the troops to fight for the honour of England. Immediately after the action he continued his march to Hanau, where he was joined by the reinforcement. The earl of Stair sent a trumpet to Marshal de Noailles, recommending to his protection the sick and wounded that were left on the field of battle, and these the French general treated with great care and tenderness. Such generosity softens the rigour of war, and does honour to humanity. Our troops were led into quarters, and desisted from farther operations that campaign.

Mean while the French went on with vigour on every side. They opposed prince Charles, and interrupted his attempts to pass the Rhine. They gained also some successes in Italy; but their chief hopes were placed upon a projected invasion of England. Cardinal Fleury was now dead: and cardinal Tencin, who succeeded him in power, was a man of a very different character; being proud, turbulent, and enterprizing. France, from the violence of the parliamentary disputes in England, had been persuaded that the country was long ripe for a revolution, and only wanted the presence of a pretender to

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bring about the change. Several needy adventurers, who wished for a revolution, some men of broken fortunes, and almost all the Roman catholics of the kingdom, endeavoured to confirm the court of France in these sentiments. An invasion was therefore projected; and Charles, the son of the old pretender, departed from Rome, in the disguise of a Spanish courier, for Paris, where he had an audience of the French king.

This family had long been the dupes of France; but it was thought at present there were serious resolutions formed in their favour. The troops destined for the expedition amounted to fifteen thousand men; preparations were made for embarking them at Dunkirk, and some of the nearest ports to England, under the eye of the young pretender. The duke de Roquefuille, with twenty ships of the line, was to see them safely landed in England, and the famous count Saxe was to command them, when put on shore. But the whole project was disconcerted by the appearance of Sir John Norris, who, with a superior fleet, made up to attack them. The French fleet was obliged to put back; a hard gale of wind damaged their transports beyond redress; and the French, frustrated in their scheme of a sudden descent, thought fit to declare war.

* Meantime the English ministry had sent out a powerful squadron into the Mediterranean to over-awe those states who might be inclined to lend assistance to France or Spain. This fleet had been conducted by Lestock; but

but admiral Matthews, though a younger officer, was sent to take the superior command, which produced a misunderstanding between the commanders. There was soon an opportunity offered for these officers to discover their mutual animosity. The combined fleets of France and Spain, to the number of four and thirty sail, were seen off Toulon, and a signal was made by the English admiral to prepare for engaging. It happened that his signals were not perfectly exact; he had hung out that for forming the line of battle, which at the same time shewed the signal for engaging. This was an excuse to Lestock for refusing to come up; so that after some vain efforts to attack the enemy in conjunction, Matthews resolved to engage as well as he could. One ship of the line belonging to the Spanish squadron struck to captain Hawke; but was next day burned by the admiral's order. Captain Cornwall was killed in the engagement, after continuing to give command even while his leg was shot off by a cannon. The pursuit was continued for three days, at the end of which time Lestock came up; but just then Matthews gave orders for discontinuing the pursuit, and sailed away for Port Mahon to repair the damage he had sustained.

Admiral Matthews, on his arrival at Minorca accused Lestock of having misbehaved on the day of action, suspended him from his office, and sent him prisoner to England, where, in his turn, he accused his accuser. Long before the engagement these two officers

had expressed the most virulent resentment against each other. Matthews was brave, open, and undisguised; but proud, imperious, and precipitate. Lestock had signalized his courage on many occasions, and perfectly understood the whole discipline of the navy; but he was cool, cunning, and vindictive. He had been treated superciliously by Matthews, and in revenge took advantage of his errors and precipitation. To gratify this passion, he betrayed the interest and glory of his country; for it is not to be doubted, but that he might have come up in time to engage, and in that case, the fleets of France and Spain would in all likelihood have been destroyed: but he intrenched himself within the punctilios of discipline, and saw with pleasure his antagonist expose himself to the hazard of death, ruin, and disgrace. Matthews himself in the sequel, sacrificed his duty to his resentment, in restraining Lestock from pursuing and attacking the combined squadrons on the third day after the engagement, when they appeared disabled and in manifest disorder, and would have fallen an easy prey, had they been vigorously attacked. One can hardly, without indignation, reflect upon those instances in which a community has so severely suffered from the personal animosity of individuals. The miscarriage off Toulon became the subject of parliamentary enquiry in England. The commons, in an address to the throne, desired that a court-martial might be appointed to try the delinquents. By this time Lestock had in his turn accused Matthews, and all the captains of his

his division who misbehaved in the day of battle. The court-martial was constituted, and proceeded to trial. Several commanders of ships were cashiered: Vice-admiral Lestock was honourably acquitted, and admiral Matthews rendered incapable of serving for the future in his majesty's navy. All the world knew that Lestock kept aloof, and that Matthews rushed into the hottest part of the engagement. Yet, the former triumphed on his trial, and the latter narrowly escaped the sentence of death for cowardice and misconduct. Such decisions are not to be accounted for, except from prejudice and faction.

In July, Sir John Balchen, an admiral of approved valour, and great experience, sailed from Spithead, with a strong squadron, in quest of an opportunity to attack the French fleet at Brest, under the command of M. de Rochambault. In the bay of Biscay, he was overtaken by a violent storm that dispersed the ships, and drove them up the English channel. Admiral Stewart, with the greater part of them, arrived at Plymouth; but Sir John Balchen's own ship, the Victory, which was counted the most beautiful first rate in the world, foundered at sea; and this brave commander perished with all his officers, volunteers, and crew, amounting to eleven hundred choice sea-men.

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|| In October died, Sarah dutchess of Marlborough. Seldom has a character been so much mistaken! She was generally thought to be extremely covetous; but was indeed extremely liberal. She gave away all that she won at play, and very large sums besides.

In the Netherlands, the French had assembled a formidable army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, the chief command of which was given to count Saxe, natural son to the late king of Poland, and who had long been a soldier of fortune. He had been bred from his youth in camps, and had shewn very early instances of cool intrepidity. He had in the beginning of the war offered his services to several crowns; and among others, it is said, to the king of Great Britain; but his offers were rejected. By long habit this general had learned to preserve an equal composure in the midst of battle, and seemed as serene in the thickest fire, as in the drawing-room. To oppose this great general, the English were headed by the duke of Cumberland, who neither possessed such experience, nor was able to bring such a formidable body of men into the field.

The French, therefore, bore down all before them. * They besieged Fribourg, and in the beginning of the succeeding campaign invested the strong city of Tournay. Altho' the allies were inferior in number, they resolved, if possible, to save this city by hazarding a battle. They accordingly marched against the enemy, and took post in sight of the French, who were encamped on an eminence, the village of St. Antoine on the right, a wood on the left, and the town of Fontenoy before them. This advantageous situation did not repress the ardour of the English, who began the attack at two o'clock in the morning, and pressing forward || bore down all opposition.

They

* A. D. 1745. || April 30.

They were for near an hour victorious, and confident of success, while Saxe, who commanded the enemy, was sick of the disorder of which he afterwards died. However, he was carried about to all the posts in a litter, and assured his attendants that the day was his own. A column of the English, without any command, had advanced upon the enemies lines, which opening, formed an avenue on each side to receive them. It was then that the French artillery on three sides began to play upon this forlorn body, which, tho' they continued for a long time unshaken, were obliged to retreat about three in the afternoon. This was one of the most bloody battles that had been fought in this age; the allies left on the field of battle near twenty thousand men, and the French bought their victory with near an equal number of slain.

Although the attack was generally judged precipitate, yet the British and Hanoverian troops fought with such intrepidity and perseverance, that if they had been properly sustained by the Dutch forces, and their flanks covered by the cavalry, the French in all likelihood, would have been obliged to abandon their enterprize.

This blow, by which Tournay was lost, gave the French such a manifest superiority, that they kept the fruits of their victory during the whole continuance of the war. The duke of Bavaria, whom they had made emperor, under the title of Charles the seventh, was lately dead; but though his pretensions were the original cause of the war, it was not dis-

con-

continued at his decease. The grand duke of Tuscany, husband to the queen of Hungary, was declared emperor in his room; and though the original cause of the quarrel was no more, the dissensions continued as fierce as ever.

The ministry was by this time changed, the lords Harrington, Chesterfield, and Mr. Pelham, being placed at the head of affairs; these enjoyed some share of popularity, and the operations of war were no longer thwarted by a turbulent opposition. The admirals Rowley and Warren had retrieved the honour of the British flag, and made several rich captures at sea. The fortress of Louisbourg, in the island of Cape Breton, on the coasts of North America, a place of great consequence to the British commerce, surrendered to general Peperell; a short time after two French East India ships, and a Spanish ship from Peru, laden with treasure, put into the harbour, supposing it still their own, and were taken.

It was at this period, that the son of the old pretender resolved to make an effort for the British crown. Charles Edward, had been bred in a luxurious court, without partaking in its effeminacy. He was enterprising and ambitious; but hardly equal to the bold undertaking. But he had long been flattered by the rash, the superstitious, and the needy; he was taught to believe that the kingdom was ripe for a revolt, and that it could no longer bear the immense load of taxes with which it was burthened.

Being

Being now, therefore, furnished with some money, and with large promises from France, he embarked for Scotland on board a small frigate, accompanied by the marquis of Tullibardine, Sir Thomas Sheridan, and a few other desperate adventurers. Thus, for the conquest of all Britain, he only brought with him seven officers, and arms for two thousand men.

Providence seemed no way favourable to him; for his convoy, a ship of sixty guns, was so disabled by an English man of war, named the Lion, that it was obliged to return to Brest, while he continued his course to the Western parts of Scotland, and landing on the coast of Lochaber, was in a little time joined by some chiefs of the Highland clans, and their vassals, over whom they exercised an hereditary jurisdiction. By means of these chiefs he soon saw himself at the head of fifteen hundred men, and invited others to join him by his manifestoes, which were dispersed all over the kingdom.

The whole kingdom seemed unanimously bent upon opposing an enterprize, which they were sensible, being supported by papists, would be instrumental in restoring popery. The ministry was no sooner confirmed in the account of his arrival, which at first they could scarcely credit, than Sir John Cope was sent with a small body of forces to oppose his progress.

By this time the young adventurer was arrived at Perth, where the ceremony of proclaiming his father king of Great-Britain was per-

performed. From thence descending with his forces from the mountains, they seemed to gather as they went forward; and advancing to Edinburgh, they entered that city without opposition. There the pageantry of proclamation was again performed; and there he promised to dissolve the Union, which was considered as one of the grievances of the country. However the castle of that city held out, and he was unprovided with cannon to besiege it.

During these transactions, Sir John Cope marched back from Inverness to Aberdeen, where he embarked with his troops, and on the sixteenth day of September landed at Dunbar, one and twenty miles to the eastward of Edinburgh. Here he was joined by two regiments of dragoons, which had retired from the capital at the approach of the Highland army. With this reinforcement, his troops amounted to three thousand men, including some Highlanders well affected to the government, who had offered their services to him at Inverness; and he began his march for Edinburgh, in order to give battle to the enemy. On the twentieth day of the month, he incamped in the neighbourhood of Preston-pans, having the village of Traut in his front, and the sea in his rear. Early next morning he was attacked by the young pretender, at the head of about three thousand Highlanders, half armed, who charged him sword in hand, with such impetuosity, that in less than ten minutes after the battle began, the king's troops were broken and totally routed. The dragoons fled

fled with great precipitation, at the first onset :
 the officers having made little effort to rally
 them, thought proper to consult their own
 safety by an expeditious retreat towards Ber-
 wick. All the infantry was either killed or
 taken ; and the colours, artillery, tents, bag-
 gage, and military chest, fell into the hands
 of the victor, who returned in triumph to
 Edinburgh. Never was victory more com-
 plete, or obtained at a smaller expence ; for
 not above fourscore of the rebels lost their
 lives in the engagement. Five hundred of
 the king's troops were killed on the field of
 battle ; and among these Colonel Gardiner,
 a gallant officer, who disdained to save his life
 at the expence of his honour. When aban-
 doned by his own regiment of dragoons, he
 alighted from his horse, joined the infantry,
 and fought on foot, until he fell covered with
 wounds, in sight of his own threshold. Prince
 Charles bore his good fortune with modera-
 tion. The wounded soldiers were treated
 with humanity, and the officers were sent into
 Fife and Angus, where they were left at liber-
 ty on their parole, which the greater part of
 them shamefully broke. From this victory
 the pretender reaped manifold and important
 advantages. His followers were armed, his par-
 ty encouraged, and his enemies intimidated. He
 was supplied with a train of field artillery, and
 a considerable sum of money, and saw himself
 possessed of all Scotland, except the fortresses,
 the reduction of which he could not pretend
 to undertake without proper implements and
 engineers. After the battle he was joined by

a small detachment from the Highlands, and some chiefs, who had hitherto been on the reserve, began to exert their influence in his favour. But he was not yet in a condition to take advantage of that consternation, which his late success had diffused through the kingdom of England.

He continued to reside in the palace of Holy-rood-house; and made some unsuccessful attempts to cut off the communication between the castle and the city. He levied a regiment in Edinburgh and the neighbourhood. He imposed taxes; seized the merchandise that was deposited in the king's warehouses at Leith, and other places; compelled the city of Glasgow to accomodate him with a large sum, and laid the country under contribution. The number of his followers daily increased, and he received considerable supplies of money, artillery, and ammunition, by single ships that arrived from France, where his interest seemed to rise in proportion to the success of his arms. The greater and richer part of Scotland was averse to his family and pretensions, but the people were unarmed and undisciplined, consequently passive under his dominion. But in the Highlands several powerful chiefs who were attached to the government, exerted themselves in its defence. The duke of Argyle began to arm his vassals: twelve hundred men were raised by the earl of Sutherland: the lord Ray brought a considerable number to the field: the Grants and Monroes appeared under their respective leaders for the service of his majesty. Sir Alexander Macdonald and the laird of Macleod
sent

sent two thousand hardy islanders from Skie, to strengthen the same interest. These gentlemen were governed and directed by the advice of Duncan Forbes, lord president of the college of justice at Edinburgh, a man of extensive knowledge, agreeable manners and unblemished integrity. He acted with indefatigable zeal for the interest of the reigning family; and even exhausted an opulent fortune in their service. He confirmed several chiefs who began to waver in their principles: some he actually converted by the energy of his arguments, and brought over to the assistance of the government, which they had determined to oppose: others he persuaded to remain quiet, without taking any share in the present troubles. The earl of Loudon repaired to Inverness, where he completed his regiment of Highlanders; directed the conduct of the clans who had taken arms in behalf of his majesty; and by his vigilance, over-awed the disaffected chieftains of that country, who had not yet openly engaged in the rebellion.

Had the pretender taken advantage of the general consternation, and marched directly for England, the consequence might have been fatal. But he was amused by the promise of succours which never came; and thus induced to remain near Edinburgh. By this time his train was composed of the earl of Kilmarnock, discontented with the court for withdrawing his pension; and lord Balmerino, who had been an officer in the English service, but gave up his commission in order to join the rebels: the lords Cromarty, Elcho,

Ogilvy, Pittligo, and the eldest son of lord Lovat, came in also with their vassals, and increased his army. Lord Lovat himself was an enthusiast in the cause, but yet unwilling to act openly. Never was there a man of such unaccountable ambition, or who rendered himself so hateful and suspected by all. He was at first outlawed for ravishing the duke of Argyle's niece. He then offered his service to the old pretender in France, and it was accepted. He next betrayed the forces which were sent to his assistance to queen Anne. He a second time invited the pretender over in the reign of George the first, and being put in possession of the castle of Stirling, by the chevalier, he once more betrayed it into the hands of the enemy.

Meantime the ministry took every proper precaution to oppose him. Six thousand Dutch troops that had come over to the assistance of the crown, were dispatched northward, under the command of general Wade; but these could lend no assistance, as they were prisoners of France upon parole, and under engagements not to oppose that power for the space of one year. The duke of Cumberland soon after arrived from Flanders, and was followed by another detachment of dragoons and infantry. Besides these, volunteers offered in every part of the kingdom; and every county exerted a vigorous spirit of indignation, both against the ambition, the religion, and the allies of the young pretender.

However, he went forward with vigour, and having, upon frequent consultations with his

his officers, come to a resolution of making an irruption into England, he entered the country by the western border, and invested Carlisle, which surrendered in less than three days. He found there a considerable quantity of arms, and there too he procured his father to be proclaimed king.

General Wade advanced across the country: but receiving intelligence that the enemy was two days march before him, retired to his former station. The young pretender, thus unopposed, resolved to penetrate farther into the kingdom, having received assurances from France that a considerable body of troops would be landed on the southern coasts, to make a diversion in his favour. He was flattered also with the hopes of being joined by a considerable number of malcontents, as he passed forward. Accordingly, leaving six hundred men in Carlisle, which he should rather have left defenceless, he advanced to Penrith, marching on foot in an Highland dress, and continuing his irruption till he came to Manchester, where he established his head-quarters.

He was there joined by about two hundred English, who were formed into a regiment, under the command of colonel Townly. Thence he pursued his march to Derby, intending to go by the way of Chester into Wales, where he hoped to be joined by a great number of followers; but the factions among his own chiefs prevented his proceeding to that part of the kingdom.

He was by this time advanced within less than an hundred and forty miles of the capital, which was filled with perplexity and consternation. Had he proceeded with that expedition which he had hitherto used, he might probably have made himself master of the metropolis, where he would certainly have been joined by a considerable number of his well-wishers, who waited impatiently for his approach.

During this interval the king resolved to take the field in person. The volunteers of the city were incorporated into a regiment; the practitioners of the law agreed to take the field, with the judges at their head; and even the managers of the theatres offered to raise a body of their dependents for the service of their country. These associations were at least a proof of the people's fears; while those concerned in the money-corporations were overwhelmed with dejection.

In the mean time the situation of the Chevalier was far from agreeable. He found himself miserably disappointed in all his expectations. He had now advanced into the middle of the kingdom, and, except a few that joined him at Manchester, not a soul appeared in his behalf. One would have imagined that all the Jacobites of England had been annihilated. The Welsh took no step towards exciting an insurrection in his favour: the French made no attempt towards an invasion. He saw himself with an handful of men hemmed in between two considerable armies, in December, and in a country disaffected to his

his cause. He knew he could not proceed to the metropolis without hazarding a battle; and that a defeat would be attended with the inevitable destruction of himself and all his adherents. He called a council at Derby, and, after a long dispute, the majority determined, that they should retreat with all expedition. Accordingly they abandoned Derby on the sixth day of December, early in the morning, and marched with such celerity, that on the ninth, their vanguard arrived at Manchester; on the twelfth they entered Preston, and continued their march northwards. The duke of Cumberland, who was encamped at Meriden, when first apprized of their retreat, detached the horse and dragoons in pursuit of them; while general Wade began his march from Ferrybridge into Lancashire, with a view of intercepting them in their route: but at Wakefield he understood, that they had already reached Wigan, and therefore repaired to his old post at Newcastle, after having detached general Oglethorpe with his horse and dragoons, to join those who had been sent off from the duke's army. They pursued with such alacrity, that they overtook the rear of the rebels, with which they skirmished, in Lancashire. The militia of Cumberland and Westmoreland were raised and armed by the duke's order, to harass them in their march. The bridges were broken down, the roads damaged, and the beacons lighted to alarm the country. Nevertheless, they retreated regularly with their

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small.

small train of artillery. They were overtaken at the village of Clifton, in the neighbourhood of Penrith, by two regiments of dragoons. These alighted, in order to attack a party of their rear-guard which had halted near Clifton moor with a view to retard the pursuit. The assailants were roughly handled; and the rebels having accomplished their purpose, retired with the loss of a few individuals.

On the nineteenth day of the month, the Highland army reached Carlisle, and having reinforced the garrison of the place, crossed the rivers Eden and Solway into Scotland; having thus accomplished one of the most surprizing retreats that ever was performed. But the most remarkable circumstance of this expedition was, the moderation and regularity with which those ferocious people conducted themselves, in a country abounding with plunder. No violence was offered; no outrage committed. Yea, notwithstanding the excessive cold, and the hunger and fatigue to which they must have been exposed, they left behind no sick, or stragglers; but retired with deliberation, and carried off their cannon in the face of their enemy. The duke of Cumberland invested Carlisle with his whole army on the twenty-first day of December, and on the thirtieth, the garrison surrendered at discretion. The prisoners amounting to about four hundred, were imprisoned in different goals in England, and the duke returned to London.

The

The pretender proceeded by the way of Dumfries to Glasgow, from which city he exacted severe contributions, on account of its attachment to the government, for whose service it had raised a regiment of nine hundred men, under the command of the earl of Hume. Having continued several days at Glasgow, he advanced towards Sterling; and was joined by some forces which had been assembled in his absence by lord Lewis Gordon, and John Drummond, brother to the dukes of Gordon and Perth. This last nobleman had arrived from France in November, with a small reinforcement of French and Irish, and a commission as general of these auxiliaries. He fixed his head quarters at Perth, where he was reinforced by the earl of Cromartie, and other clans, to the number of two thousand, and he was accommodated with a small train of artillery. They had found means to surprise a sloop of war at Montrose, with the guns of which they fortified that harbour. They had received a considerable sum of money from Spain. They took possession of Dundee, Dumblaine, Down-castle, and laid Fife under contribution.

Being joined by lord Drummond, he now invested the castle of Stirling, but to no purpose. It was during this attempt, that general Hawley, who commanded a considerable body of forces near Edinburgh, undertook to raise the siege, and advanced towards the rebel army as far as Falkirk.

I believe neither antient nor modern history can produce a parallel to the action near Fal-

Falkirk : the account of which I read from two different persons, at different times, who could have no motive to disguise the truth. They both affirmed, " The two armies were quite enraged at each other, and advanced with all possible fury : till a general panic seized the English, who faced about, and fairly ran away. A like general panic seized the Scots, who likewise faced about, and ran as fast the opposite way. But then finding none pursued them, they wheeled round, and marched again to the very ground they had left. The English did the same. But just at that time began a violent storm of wind and rain. Nevertheless there was a kind of engagement for some minutes, in which two or three hundred men fell in the whole. Then the Scots were struck with a panic again, and ran away a second time, till looking back, and seeing no pursuers, they boldly returned and took the king's cannon. But the English looked back no more, till they found themselves safe at Edinburgh.

|| By this time the duke of Cumberland had put himself at the head of the troops in Edinburgh, consisting of fourteen battalions of infantry, two regiments of dragoons, and fifteen hundred Highlanders from Argyleshire, under the command of colonel Campbell, in all about fourteen thousand men. On the last day of January, his royal highness began his march to Linlithgow; and the enemy, who had renewed the siege of Stirling Castle, not only abandoned that enterprise, but crossed the river Forth with precipitation

precipitation. Their prince found great difficulty in maintaining his forces, that part of the country being quite exhausted; but he hoped to be reinforced in the Highlands, and to receive supplies of all kinds from France and Spain: he therefore, retired by Badenoch towards Inverness, which the earl of Loudon abandoned at his approach. The fort was surrendered to him without opposition, and here he fixed his head-quarters.

The duke of Cumberland having secured the important posts of Sterling and Perth, with the Hessian battalions, advanced with the army to Aberdeen, where he was joined by the duke of Gordon, the earls of Aberdeen and Findlater, the laird of Grant, and other persons of distinction. Here he lay three months.

While the duke stayed at Aberdeen the advanced guards, consisting of Kingston's horse, two regiments of dragoons, and three of Highlanders, lay at Strathbogie. April the seventh he sent orders, for the army to march by Old Meldrum and Peterhead, to meet the advanced guards and to form the grand army at Lochaber, on the bank of the rapid river Spey. The rebels who were drawn up on the other side, resolved to dispute his passage, the bank on which they stood being high and steep, and the chief path whereby the English were to ascend it, being so narrow, as hardly to admit of two to go abreast. But they were bought and sold: the chief director of all their motions was in the duke's pay, and told them, the ships which they saw at the

the mouth of the river, were sent to land men behind them, so that unless they would be between two fires, they must retreat without delay.

They were hesitating upon this, when the duke ordered Kingston's horse and fifteen companies of grenadiers, to march through the town to the bank of the river. In about an hour he followed with the grand army. The rebels then retreated, and the English crossed in places; but could not possibly have climbed the bank, at least not without losing great part of the army, had there been any opposition. While the duke slowly advanced, the rebels were continually amused with false intelligence, and thereby harrassed to and fro, so as to be kept almost without meat, drink, or sleep.

April the fifteenth, the grand army lying near Nairn, the rebels formed a design of surprising in the night. And they came so near, unobserved, that it seems, they must have succeeded, had they not retired without any visible cause: whether they were seized with a panic, or informed by their false friend, that their design was discovered.

April the sixteenth, they were informed, the duke was retreated; upon which many of them were scattered up and down in quest of food: nor had those who lay on Culloden moor, two miles from Inverness, any thought of his being near till they saw him on the top of the opposite hill, about a mile and a half distant from them. They then immediately formed, being seven or eight thousand in
number

number, with a few pieces of cannon, and a small battery on the right of the duke's army, which he immediately ordered a party of Kingston's horse to seize, which they did without the least opposition. Probably these too were sold: The battle began about a quarter after twelve. The whole front line of the rebels came down sword in hand: and a large part of them fell on our left, cut their way through, and destroyed the greater part of Barrell's regiment. But they were soon replaced; and in the mean time, our cannon made whole lanes thro' them, yet they fought desperately, till the dragoons under Hawley with the Argyleshire men, pulled down a park wall, and attacked them in flank. They were then totally broke: on which their second line, instead of advancing, fled in the utmost confusion. The French Piquets on their left did not fire a shot; but stood inactive during the engagement, and two or three days after surrendered themselves prisoners of war. In less than thirty minutes, the battle was over, and the field covered with the slain. The road as far as Inverness, was strewed with dead bodies, and a great number of people, who from motives of curiosity had come to see the battle, were sacrificed to the undistinguishing vengeance of the victors. Twelve hundred rebels were slain on the field and in the pursuit.

Civil war is in itself terrible, but more so when heightened by unnecessary cruelty. How guilty soever an enemy may be, it is the duty of a brave soldier to remember that he is only to fight an opposer, and not

not a suppliant. The victory was in every respect decisive, and humanity to the conquered would have rendered it glorious. But no mercy was shewn; the conquerors were seen to refuse quarter to the wounded, the unarmed, and the defenceless; and soldiers to anticipate the base employment of the executioner. The duke afterwards ordered six and thirty deserters to be executed, the conquerors spread terror wherever they came; and after a short space, the whole country round was one dreadful scene of plunder, slaughter, and desolation; justice was forgotten, and vengeance assumed the name.

One would almost imagine, the conductors of this desperate enterprize had conspired their own destruction, as they certainly neglected every step that might have contributed to their safety or success. They might have opposed the duke of Cumberland at the passage of the Spey: they might have afterwards attacked his camp in the night, with a good prospect of success.

As they were greatly inferior to him in number, and weakened with hunger and fatigue, they might have retired to the hills and fastnesses, where they would have found plenty of live cattle for provision, recruited their regiments, and been joined by a strong reinforcement, which was actually in full march to their assistance. But they were betrayed all along: so that they could not avail themselves of any of these advantages.

One of the duke's straggling parties apprehended the lady Mackintosh, who was

prisoner

prisoner to Inverness, plundered her house, and drove away her cattle, though her husband was actually in the service of the government. The castle and gardens of lord Lovat were destroyed. The French prisoners were sent to Carlisle and Penrith: Kilmarnock, Balmerino, Cromartie, and his son the lord Macleod, were conveyed by sea to London; and those of an inferior rank were confined in different prisons. The marquis of Tullibardine, together with a brother of the earl of Dunmore, and Murray the pretender's secretary, were seized and transported to the Tower of London, to which the earl of Traquair had been committed on suspicion; and the eldest son of lord Lovat was imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh. In a word, all the goals of Great Britain, from the capital northwards, were filled with those unfortunate captives; and great numbers of them were crowded together in the holds of ships, where they perished in the most deplorable manner.

* In the month of May, the duke of Cumberland advanced with the army into the Highlands, as far as Fort Augustus, where he encamped; and sent off detachments on all hands, to hunt down the fugitives, and lay waste the country with fire and sword. The castles of Glengary and Lochiel were plundered and burned; every house, hut, or habitation, met with the same fate, without distinction; and all the cattle and provision were carried off; the men, were either shot upon the mountains, like wild beasts, or put to death

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* A. D. 1746.

in cold blood, without form of trial : the women, after having seen their husbands and fathers murdered, were subjected to brutal violation, and then turned out naked, with their children, to starve on the barren heaths. One whole family was inclosed in a barn, and consumed to ashes. Those ministers of vengeance were so alert in the execution of their office, that in a few days there was neither house, cottage, man, nor beast, to be seen within the compass of fifty-miles ; all was ruin, silence, and desolation.

In this manner were blasted all the hopes, and all the ambition of the young adventurer ; one short hour reduced him from a nominal king, to a distressed forlorn outcast, shunned by all mankind, except such as sought his destruction. Immediately after the engagement, he fled away with a captain of Fitz-James's cavalry, and when their horses were fatigued, they both alighted, and separately sought for safety. He for some days wandered in this country, naturally wild, but now rendered more formidable by war, a wretched spectator of all those horrors which were the result of his ill-guided ambition.

There is a striking similitude between his adventures, and those of Charles the second, upon his escape from Worcester. He sometimes found refuge in caves and cottages, without attendants, and dependent on the wretched natives, who could pity, but not relieve him. Sometimes he lay in forests, with one or two companions, continually pursued by the troops of the conqueror, as there

there was a reward of thirty thousand pounds offered for taking him, dead or alive. Sheridan, an Irish adventurer, was the person who kept faithfully by him, and inspired him with courage to support such incredible hardships. He had occasion in the course of his concealments, to trust his life to the fidelity of above fifty individuals, whose veneration for his family prevailed above their avarice.

One day, having walked from morning till night, he ventured to enter a house, the owner of which he well knew was attached to the opposite party. As he entered, he addressed the master of the house in the following manner. "The son of your king comes to beg a little bread and a few cloaths. I know your present attachment to my adversaries, but I believe you have sufficient honour not to abuse my confidence. Take these rags that have for some time been my only covering; you may probably restore them to me one day when I shall be seated on the throne of Great Britain." The master of the house was touched with pity; he assisted him as far as he was able, and never divulged the secret.

In this manner he continued to wander among the frightful wilds of Glengary, for near six months, often hemmed round by his pursuers, but still strangely rescued from the impending danger. At length a privateer of St. Maloes, arrived in Lochnanach, in which he embarked in the most wretched attire. He was clad in a short coat of black frize, threadbare, over which was a common Highland
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plaid, girt round him by a belt, from whence depended a pistol and a dagger. He had not been shifred for many weeks; his eye was hollow, his visage wan, and his constitution greatly impaired by famine and fatigue. He was accompanied by Sullivan and Sheridan, who had shared all his calamities, together with Cameron of Lochiel, and his brother, and a few others. They set sail for France, and after having been chased by two English men of war, they arrived in safety at a place called Roseau, near Morlaix in Bretagne. Perhaps he would have found it more difficult to escape, had not the vigilance of his pursuers been relaxed by a report that he was slain.

In the mean time, while the pretender was thus pursued, the scaffolds and the gibbets were preparing for his adherents. Seventeen officers of the rebel army were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Kennington-common, in the neighbourhood of London. Their constancy in death gained more proselytes to their cause than perhaps their victories would have obtained. Nine were executed in the same manner at Carlisle, and eleven at York. A few obtained pardons, and a considerable number of the common men were transported to the plantations in North America.

The earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and the lord Balmerino, were tried by their peers, and found guilty. Cromartie was pardoned, but the other two were beheaded on Tower-hill. Kilmarnock declared a consciousness of his crimes, and professed his repentance. But Balmerino gloried in the cause
for

for which he fell. When his fellow-sufferer was commanded to bid God bless king George, which he did with a faint voice, Balmerino still avowed his principles, and cried out aloud, "God bless king James!" Mr. Radcliffe, brother to the late earl of Derwentwater, who was beheaded in the former reign, being taken on board a ship as he was coming to reinforce the pretender's army, and the identity of his person being proved, he was sentenced upon a former conviction, and suffered his fate upon Tower-hill with tranquility and resolution. Lord Lovat was tried and found guilty some time after; he died with intrepidity; but his sufferings did little honour to his cause. Thus ended the last effort of the family of the Stuarts for re-ascending the throne.

Immediately after the rebellion was suppressed, the legislature established several regulations in Scotland, which were equally conducive to the happiness of that people, and the tranquility of the united kingdom. The Highlanders had till this time continued to wear the old military dress of their ancestors, and never went without arms. In consequence of this, they considered themselves as a body of people distinct from the rest of the nation, and were ready, upon the shortest notice, to second the insurrections of their chiefs. But they were now compelled to wear cloaths of the common fashion. And what contributed still more to their real felicity, was the abolition of that hereditary jurisdiction which their chiefs exerted over them.

The power of their chieftains was totally destroyed, and the subjects in that part of the kingdom, were granted a participation of the common liberty.

In the mean time, the flames of war raged upon the continent with increasing violence. The French arms were crowned with repeated success; and almost the whole Netherlands were reduced under their dominion. The Dutch in their usual manner negotiated, supplicated, and evaded the war; but they found themselves every day stripped of some of those strong towns which formed a barrier to their dominions. They now lay almost defenceless, and ready to receive the terms of their conquerors; their national bravery being quite suffocated in the spirit of traffic and luxury.

The Dutch were at this time divided by factions which had continued for above a century in their republic. The one declared for the prince of Orange and a stadtholder, the other opposed this election, and desired friendship with France. The prevalence of either of these factions to its utmost extent was equally fatal to freedom; for if a stadtholder were elected, the constitution became altered from a republic to a kind of limited monarchy; if, on the contrary, the opposite party prevailed, the people must submit to the weight of a confirmed aristocracy supported by French power, and liable to its control. Of the two evils they chose the former; the people in several towns, compelled their magistrates to declare the prince of Orange stadtholder,

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captain-general, and admiral of the United Provinces. The vigorous consequences of this resolution immediately appeared. All commerce with the French was prohibited; the Dutch army was augmented, and orders were issued to commence hostilities against the French by sea and land. Thus the war, which had begun but in a single country, was now diffused over all Europe; and prevailed in different parts of this great political constitution, remitting and raging by turns.

The king of Sardinia, who had some years before joined France against England, now declared against the ambitious power of France. Italy felt all the terrors of intestine war, or more properly looked on, while foreigners were contending with each other for her usurped dominions. The French and Spaniards on one side, and the Imperialists and the king of Sardinia on the other, ravaged those beautiful territories by turns, and gave laws to a country that had once spread her dominion over the world.

About this time, the English made an attack upon Port l'Orient, a sea-port in France; but drew off their forces in a panic. The French gained a considerable victory at Roucroux in Flanders, although it procured them no real advantage. Another victory, which they obtained at La Feldt, served to depress the allied army still lower. But the taking of Bergen-op-zoom, the strongest fortification of Dutch Brabant, reduced the Dutch to a state of desperation. However, these vic-

victories gained by the French were counterbalanced with almost equal disappointments. In Italy the marshal Bellisle's brother, attempting to penetrate at the head of thirty four thousand men into Piedmont, was routed, and himself slain. An unsuccessful fleet was sent out for the recovery of Cape Breton. Two more were fitted out, the one to make a descent upon the British colonies in America, and the other to carry on the operations in the East Indies; but these were attacked by Anson and Warren, and nine of their ships taken. Soon after this, commodore Fox, with six ships of war, took above forty French ships richly laden from St. Domingo; and this loss was soon after followed by another defeat, which the French fleet sustained from admiral Hawke, in which seven ships of the line, and several frigates were taken.

In this manner victory, defeat, negotiation, treachery, and rebellion, succeeded each other, till all sides began to be weary, gaining no solid advantage.

The Dutch had for some time endeavoured to stop the progress of a war, in which they had all to lose, and nothing to gain. The king of France was sensible that after a victory was the most advantageous time to offer terms of peace. The bad success of his admirals at sea, and of his armies in Italy, the frequent bankruptcies of his merchants at home, and the election of a stadtholder in Holland, who gave spirit to the opposition, contributed to make him weary of the war. This was what the allies had long wished for.

and which, notwithstanding, they were ashamed to demand. The English ministry in particular finding themselves unable to manage a parliament toured by frequent defeats, were very ready to accede. A negotiation was therefore resolved upon; and the contending powers agreed on a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the earl of Sandwich and Sir Thomas Robinson assisted as plenipotentiaries from the king of Great Britain.

This treaty, which takes its name from the city at which it was made, was begun, upon the preliminary conditions of restoring all conquests made during the war. From thence great hopes were expected of conditions both favourable and honourable to the English; but the treaty still remains a mark of English disgrace. It was agreed, that all prisoners on each side should be restored, and all conquests given up: that the dutchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, should be ceded to Don Philip, heir apparent to the Spanish throne, and to his heirs; but in case of his succeeding to the crown of Spain, should revert to the house of Austria. It was confirmed that the fortifications of Dunkirk to the sea should be demolished; that the English ship annually sent with slaves to the coast of New Spain should have this privilege continued for four years: that the king of Prussia should be confirmed in the possession of Silesia, which he had lately conquered; and that the queen of Hungary should be secured in her patrimonial dominions. But

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one article was more displeasing to the English than all the rest: it was stipulated, that the king of Great Britain should immediately after the ratification of this treaty, send two persons of rank and distinction to France as hostages, until restitution should be made of Cape Breton, and all other conquests which England had made during the war. This was a mortifying clause; but to add to the general error of the negotiation, no mention was made of the searching the vessels of England in the American seas, upon which the war was originally begun. The limits of their respective possessions in North America were not ascertained; nor did they receive any equivalent for those forts which they restored to the enemy. The treaty of Utrecht had long been the object of reproach to those by whom it was made; but with all its faults, the treaty now concluded was by far more despicable and erroneous. Yet such was the spirit of the times, that the treaty of Utrecht was branded with contempt, and the treaty of Aix-la-chapelle was extolled with the highest strains of praise.

In truth this treaty was but a temporary truce; a cessation from hostilities, which both sides were unable to continue.

In the mean time, as Europe enjoyed some tranquility, the people of England expected, and the ministry was liberal in promising them, a return of all the advantages of peace. And in order to please the populace, a magnificent fire-work was plaid off; and the spectators

could never be brought to think that a bad treaty, which was celebrated with such magnificent profusion.

Meantime a bill was passed for encouraging a British herring fishery, in the manner of that carried on by the Dutch. From the carrying such a scheme vigorously into execution, great advantages were expected. The Dutch, who had long enjoyed the sole profits arising from this article, considered the sea as a mine of inexhaustible wealth. But the patience and frugality of that nation seem to fit them more properly for the life of fishermen than the English.

In the mean time Mr. Pelham, who now conducted the business of the state, and was a man of candour and capacity, laid a scheme for lightening the immense load of debt which the nation sustained in consequence of the late war. His plan was to lessen the debt, by lowering the interest which had been promised on granting the supplies, or else obliging the lenders to receive the sums originally granted. Those, for instance, who were proprietors of stock, and received for the use of their money four per cent. were, by an act passed for that purpose, compelled to subscribe their names, signifying their consent to accept of three pounds ten shillings per cent. the following year, and three per cent. every year ensuing; and in case of a refusal, assurances were given that the government would pay off the principal. This scheme was attended with the desired effect, though in some measure, was a force upon the lender

lender, who had originally granted his money upon different terms. However, the measure was evidently beneficial to the nation; and experience has shewn that it no way affected the public credit. Beside this salutary measure others were pursued for the interest of the nation with equal success. The importation of iron from America was allowed, the trade to Africa was laid open, but under the superintendance of the board of trade.

But all the advantages the nation reaped from these salutary measures were not sufficient to counterbalance the stroke which liberty received, by an unusual stretch of the privileges of the house of commons. Lord Trentham, member for Westminster, having vacated his seat in the house of commons, by accepting a place under the crown, again resolved to stand candidate, and met with a violent opposition. Those who styled themselves the Independent Electors of Westminster, named Sir George Vandeput, a private gentleman, as his competitor. But the poll being closed, the majority appeared to be in favour of lord Trentham. The independent electors complained of injustice in the high-bailiff of Westminster, and carried their petition to the house.

To this petition the house paid little attention; but proceeded to examine the high-bailiff as to the causes that had so long protracted the election. This officer laid the blame upon Mr. Crowle, who had acted as counsel for the petitioners, and also upon the honourable Alexander Murray, a friend to Sir George Vandeput.

Vandeput, and one Gibson, an upholsterer. These three persons were, therefore, brought to the bar of the house; Crowle and Gibson consented to ask pardon, and were dismissed, upon being reprimanded by the speaker. Murray was at first admitted to bail; but afterwards ordered, to be committed to Newgate, and to receive this sentence at the bar of the house upon his knees. When he was conducted before the house, being directed to kneel, he refused to comply, and this threw the whole assembly into commotion. They then ordered that he should be committed immediately, denied the use of pen, ink, and paper, and that no person should have access to him, without permission of the house.

This imprisonment he underwent with great cheerfulness, sensible that, by the constitution of the country, his confinement could continue no longer than while the commons continued sitting; and at the end of the session he was accordingly discharged. But what was his amazement, at the commencement of the ensuing session, to find that he was again called upon, and that a motion was made for committing him close prisoner to the Tower! He thought proper to screen himself by absconding; but the people could not help considering their representatives rather as their oppressors, and the house as asserting rather vindictive, than legislative authority. However, the subject has still one resource against any violent resolutions of the house against him; he may resist if he thinks proper, as

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they are armed with no legal executive powers to compel obedience.

The people were scarce recovered from the resentment produced by this measure, when another was taken in the house, which, laid a line between the rich and poor that seemed impassable. This was the act for the better preventing clandestine marriages. The grievance complained of, was, that the sons and daughters of opulent families were often seduced into marriage before they had sufficient experience to be sensible of the disparity of the match. This statute, therefore, enacted, that the bans of marriage should be regularly published three successive Sundays in the church of the parish where both parties had resided for one month, at least, before the ceremony. It declared, that any marriage solemnized without this previous publication, or a license obtained from the bishop's court, should be void, and that the person who solemnized it should be transported for seven years. This act was at that time thought replete with consequences injurious to society; and experience has confirmed the truth of many of those objections. Infamous men have made a practice of seducing young women, ignorant of the law, by pretending a marriage which they knew to be illegal, and consequently no longer binding. The poor, by being prevented from making alliances with the rich, have lost wealth to accumulate contrary to the interests of the state. It has been found to impede marriage, by clogging

it with unnecessary ceremonies: and lewdness and debauchery have become still more frequent.

This session was distinguished by another act equally unpopular. This was a law for naturalizing the Jews: but the people without doors remonstrated so loudly against it, that the ministry had it repealed the ensuing session.

An act equally unpopular with the two former was now also passed, for the better preserving the game. By this, none but a man already possessed of a stated fortune was allowed the privilege of carrying a gun, or destroying game, though even upon the grounds which he himself rented and paid for. This law totally damped all martial ardour among the lower orders of mankind, by preventing their handling those arms, which might one day be necessary to defend their country. It also defeated its own end of preserving the game; for the farmers, abridged of the power of seizing game, never permitted it to come to maturity.

† A scheme, which the nation was taught to believe would be extremely advantageous, had been entered upon some time before. This was the encouraging those who had been discharged the army or navy, to become settlers in a new colony in North America, in the province of Nova Scotia. Nova Scotia was a place where men might be imprisoned, but not maintained; it was cold, barren, and incapable of successful cultivation. The new colony, therefore, was maintained there with

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† A. D. 1749.

some expence to the government in the beginning ; but such as could, soon went southward to the milder climates, where they were invited by an untenanted and fertile soil.

However, it was for this barren spot that the English and French revived the war, which soon after spread with such terrible devastation over every part of the globe. The native Indians bordering upon the desarts of Nova Scotia, a fierce and savage people, looked from the first with jealousy upon these new settlers ; and considered the vicinity of the English, as an incroachment upon their native possessions. The French, who were neighbours in like manner, and who were still impressed with national animosity, fomented these suspicions in the natives. Commissaries were, therefore, appointed to meet at Paris, to compromise these disputes ; but these conferences were vain.

The French had been the first cultivators of Nova Scotia, and, by great industry and long perseverance, had rendered the soil,* naturally barren, capable of sustaining nature, with some assistance from Europe. This country, however, had frequently changed masters, until at length the English were settled in the possession, and acknowledged as the rightful owners, by the treaty of Utrecht. The possession of this country was reckoned necessary to defend the English colonies to the North, and to preserve their superiority in the fisheries in that part of the world. The French, however, who had been long settled in the back parts of the country, resolved to

dispossess the new-comers, and spirited up the Indians to open hostilities, which were represented to the English ministry for some time without redress.

Soon after this, another source of dispute began to be seen in the same part of the world. The French pretending first to have discovered the mouth of the river Mississippi, claimed the whole adjacent country towards New Mexico on the East, and quite to the Appalachian mountains on the West. In order to assert their claims, as they found several English, who had settled beyond these mountains, they dispossessed them of their new settlements, and built such forts as would command the whole country. It was now, therefore, seen, that their intention was to surround the English colonies, which lay along the shore, by taking possession of the internal parts of the country; and thus, being in possession already of the northern and southern parts of that great continent, to hem the English in on every side, and secure to themselves all trade with the natives of the country. The English, therefore, justly apprehended, that if the French united their northern colonies, which were traded into by the river St. Lawrence, to their southern, which were accessible by the river Mississippi, they must in a short time become masters of the whole country.

Negotiations had long been carried on; but what could reason avail in determining disputes where there were no certain principles to be guided by? The limits of those

those countries had never been settled; for they were before this time too insignificant, to employ much attention.

Not in America alone, but also in Asia, the seeds of a new war were preparing. On the coasts of Malabar, the English and French had, in fact, never ceased from hostilities.

This immense tract of country, which now saw the armies of Europe contending for its dominion, comprehends the whole Peninsula of India proper. On the coasts of this country, the English, the French, and several other powers of Europe had built forts, with the original consent of the Mogul, who was then emperor of the whole tract. The war between the English and French there, began by either power siding with two contending princes of the country, and from being secondaries in the quarrel, at length becoming principals. Most other national contests have arisen from some principal cause; but this war seems to have been produced by the concurrence of several, or it may be considered as the continuance of the late war, which was never effectually extinguished by the wretched treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

The government of England had long complained of these infractions, and these produced only recrimination; the two powers were negotiating, accusing, and destroying each other at the same time. At length, the ministry were resolved to cut the knot, which they could not unloose, and to act in open defiance of the enemy. Orders were accordingly dispatched to all the governors of the American provinces to unite for their mutual security;

security; and if possible, to bring the Indians over to espouse their quarrel. But this was a measure which, by long neglect, was now become impracticable. It had long been the method of the English to cultivate the friendship of this fierce and hardy race in times of danger; but to slight it in circumstances of safety. This alienated the affections of the Indians from the English; but the avarice of our merchants, who sold them bad commodities, and treated them with perfidy and insolence, confirmed their aversion. Besides, there was something in the disposition of the French adventurers more similar to theirs. They were hardy, enterprising, and poor. The Indians, therefore, naturally joined those allies, from the conquest of whom in case of enmity, they could expect no plunder; and they declared war against the English settlers, who were rich, and whose spoils were therefore worth wishing for.

Thus the English had not only the French, but almost the whole body of the Indian nations to contend with; but what was still worse, their own contentions rendered their situation yet more deplorable. Some of the English provinces, who, from their situation, had little to fear from the enemy, declined furnishing their share of the supplies. At the same time the governors of some other colonies, who had been men of broken fortunes, and had left England in hopes of retrieving their lost circumstances by rapacity abroad, became so odious, that the colonies refused to lend any assistance, when such men were to have the management.

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The successes, therefore, of the French in the beginning were uninterrupted. There had been for some time frequent skirmishes between their troops and ours. They had fought with general Lawrence to the North, and colonel Washington to the South, and came off victorious. It is unnecessary, however, to transmit these trifling details to posterity. It may be sufficient to say, that the two nations seemed to have imbibed a part of the savage fury of those with whom they fought, and exercised various cruelties, either from a spirit of avarice or revenge.

The ministry in England began now a vigorous exertion in defence of those colonies, who refused to defend themselves. Four operations were undertaken in America at the same time. || Of these, one was commanded by colonel Monckton, to drive the French from their incroachments upon the province of Nova Scotia. The second, more to the South, was directed against Crown-point, under the command of general Johnson. The third, under the conduct of general Shirley, was destined to Niagara, to secure the forts on the river; and the fourth was farther southward still, against Fort Du Quesne, under general Braddock.

In these expeditions Monckton was successful; Johnson also was victorious, tho' he failed in taking the fort; Shirley lost the season for operation by delay; Braddock suffered a total defeat. This commander set forward upon his expedition in June, at the
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head of two thousand two hundred men, directing his march to that part of the country where colonel Washington had been defeated the year before. Upon his arrival, he was informed that the French at Fort du Quesne, against which he was destined, expected a reinforcement of five hundred men; he therefore resolved with all haste to advance and attack them, before they became too powerful by this conjunction. In consequence of this resolution, leaving colonel Dunbar with eight hundred men to bring up the provisions, stores, and heavy baggage, he marched forward with the rest of his army, through a country, solitary and hideous, inhabited only by beasts, and hunters still more formidable. He soon found himself advanced into the deserts of Oswego, where no European had ever been. But his courage was greater than his caution; regardless of the designs of the enemy, he took no care previously to explore the woods or the thickets, as if the nearer he approached the enemy, the less he was in danger. Being at length within ten miles of the fortress, and marching forward through the forests with full confidence of success, on a sudden his whole army was astonished by a general discharge of arms, both in front and flank, from an enemy that still remained unseen. It was now too late to retreat; the troops had passed into the defile, which the enemy had artfully permitted them to do before they offered to fire. The vanguard of the English fell back in consternation upon the main body, and the panic soon became general. The officers alone disdained to fly, while

while Braddock himself still continued to discover at once the greatest intrepidity and the greatest imprudence. He disdained to fly from the field, or to permit his men to quit their ranks when their only method of treating the Indian army, was by a precipitate attack, or an immediate desertion of the field of battle. At length Braddock, having received a musquet-shot through the lungs, dropped, and a total confusion ensued. All the artillery, ammunition and baggage of the army were left to the enemy; and the loss sustained by the English army amounted to seven hundred men. The shattered remains of the army, soon after joining colonel Danbar, returned by their former route, and arrived to spread the general consternation among the provincials of Philadelphia.

The general indignation that was raised by these defeats, drove the English into a spirit of retaliation by sea. Orders were given to make prize of the French shipping wherever found, though they had yet published no formal declaration of war. With this order, the naval commanders readily complied; the French merchant ships were taken in several places, and soon the English ports were filled with vessels taken from the enemy, and kept as an indemnification for those forts of which they had unjustly possessed themselves in America. The benefit of this measure, was much more obvious than its justice; it struck such a blow, that the French navy was unable to recover itself during the war, which was formally declared on both sides shortly after.



CHAP. VII.

THE war being begun, both the nations made vigorous preparations. The French for a long time had the satisfaction to see not only success attend their arms, but discontent and faction dividing the counsels of their opponents. Their first attempt was to make a formidable invasion. Several bodies of their troops had for some time been sent down to the coasts that lay opposite the British shores; these were instructed in the discipline of embarking and re-landing from flat-bottomed boats, which were made in great numbers for that expedition. The number of men destined for this enterprize, amounted to fifty thousand. Every day they were exercised with embarking and disembarking, while numbers of new flat-bottomed boats were continually added.

The people of England saw themselves exposed, without arms, leaders, or discipline, to the designs of their enemies, governed by a ministry that was timid, unpopular, and divided among themselves. It was in this exigence that they applied to the Dutch for six thousand men, which they were obliged to

to furnish by treaty in case of an invasion. The Dutch refused, alledging that their treaty was to supply troops in case of an actual, and not a threatened invasion. The king finding that he could not have the Dutch forces until their assistance would be too late, desisted from his demand; and the Dutch, with great amity, returned him thanks for withdrawing his request.

The ministry, disappointed of this assistance, looked round the continent to find where they might make a demand. A body of Hessians and Hanoverians, amounting to about ten thousand men, was brought over into England to protect about as many millions of English, who were supposed incapable of defending themselves. But here the remedy appeared to the people worse than the disease. The ministry was reviled for having reduced the nation to such a disgrace. The people considered themselves as no way reduced to the necessity of borrowing such feeble aid. They only demanded a vigorous exertion of their own internal strength, and feared no force that could be led to invade them.

These fears, and dissensions among the English, gave the French an opportunity of carrying on their designs in another quarter; and while the ministry were employed in guarding against the neighbouring terrors, they were attacked in the Mediterranean, where they expected no danger. The island of Minorca, which we had taken from the Spaniards in the reign of queen Anne, was

secured to England by repeated treaties. The French landed near the fortification of St. Philip, which was reckoned one of the strongest in Europe, and commanded by general Blakeney. The siege was carried on with great vigour, and for some time as obstinately defended on the side of the English.

The ministry being apprized of this, resolved to raise the siege if possible, and sent out admiral Byng with ten ships of war, with orders to relieve Minorca at any rate. Upon his approaching the island, he soon saw the French banners displayed upon the shore, and the English colours still flying on the castle of St. Philip. He had been ordered to throw a body of troops into the garrison; but he did not even make the attempt. While he was thus deliberating between his fears and his duty, his attention was quickly called off by the appearance of a French fleet, that seemed of nearly equal force to his own. Confounded by a variety of measures, he seemed resolved to pursue none. The French fleet advanced, a part of the English fleet engaged; but the admiral still kept aloof. The French fleet, therefore, slowly sailed away, and no other opportunity offered of coming to a close engagement.

This caution was carried beyond all bounds; but a council of war, which was soon after called on board the admiral's own ship, deprived the English garrison of all hopes of success. It was there determined to sail away to Gibraltar to rejoin the fleet.

Nothing could exceed the resentment of the nation upon being informed of Byng's conduct. The news, which soon after arrived, of the surrender of the garrison to the French, drove the general ferment almost to frenzy. In the mean time Byng continued at Gibraltar, little expecting the storm that was gathering at home. Orders were soon sent out for putting him under an arrest, and for carrying him to England. He was soon after tried by a court-martial in the harbour of Portsmouth, where, after a trial, which continued several days, his judges were agreed that he had not done his utmost during the engagement to destroy the enemy, and therefore they adjudged him to suffer death by the twelfth article of war. On the day fixed for his execution, which was on board a man of war in the harbour of Portsmouth, he advanced from the cabin, where he had been imprisoned, upon deck, the place appointed for him to suffer. After delivering a paper containing the strongest assertions of his innocence, he came forward to the place where he was to kneel down, and for some time persisted in not covering his face; but his friends representing that his looks would possibly intimidate the soldiers who were to shoot him, and prevent their taking proper aim, he had his eyes bound with an handkerchief; and then giving the signal for the soldiers to fire, he was killed instantaneously.

In the mean time the French, who were now masters of Minorca, were willing to

second their blow by an attack upon a country, which they were sensible the king of England valued still more. Being convinced that they could not hold their acquisitions against such a superiority as the English were possessed of at sea, and the numberless resources they had of assisting their colonies with all the necessaries of war; they made no scruple of declaring that they would revenge all injuries which they should sustain in their colonies upon the king of England's territories in Germany; a threat, which they believed would soon compel the English ministry to accept of such terms as they should be pleased to offer. In these hopes they were not disappointed. The court of London, dreading the consequences of their indignation, and eager to procure the security of Hanover, entered into a treaty with the court of Russia, by which it was stipulated that a body of fifty thousand Russians should act in the English service, in case Hanover should be invaded; and for this the czarina was to receive an hundred thousand pounds annually to be paid in advance.

This treaty with the Russians, which was considered as a master stroke of politics by the ministry in England, soon appeared to be as nugatory as it was expensive. The king of Prussia seemed startled at a treaty, which threatened to deluge the empire with an army of Barbarians. He took the first opportunity to declare that he would not suffer any foreign forces to enter the empire, either as auxiliaries or as principals. Thus England was but

the dupe of the Russians; she paid them a large subsidy for just nothing.

The king of England, whose fears for Hanover guided all his counsels, now saw himself in the situation he most dreaded. His native dominions were exposed to the resentment not only of France but of Prussia: and either of these was sufficient at once to over-run and ravage his electorate, while the Russian subsidies were at too great a distance to lend him the smallest relief. Treaties were once more set on foot; and the king of Prussia was applied to in hopes of turning his resentment another way. All that the king of England wished for was, to keep a foreign enemy from invading Germany, and this the king of Prussia professed to desire with equal ardour. From this similitude of intention, these two monarchs were induced to unite their interests; and soon came to an agreement, by which they promised to assist each other, and to prevent all foreign armies from entering the empire.

From this new alliance both powers hoped great advantages. Besides preserving the independence of the German states, which was the professed object, each had their peculiar benefits in view. The king of Prussia knew that the Austrians were his secret enemies, and that the Russians were in league with them against him. An alliance, therefore, with the court of London kept back the Russians, whom he dreaded, and gave him hopes of punishing Austria, whom he suspected. As for France he counted upon that

as a natural ally, which from its hereditary enmity to the Austrians would be stedfast in his interests. On the other side, the elector of Hanover had still stronger expectations from the benefits that would result from this alliance. He procured a near and powerful ally, which he supposed the French would not venture to disoblige. He counted the Austrians naturally attached to his interests by gratitude and friendship, and he supposed that the Russians would at least continue neuter from their former stipulations. The two contracting powers soon found themselves deceived in every one of these expectations.

This alliance soon gave birth to one of an opposite nature, that astonished all Europe. The queen of Hungary had long meditated designs for recovering Silesia. Her chief hopes of assistance were from Russia; and she expected the rest of the powers in question would continue neuter. However she found by the late treaty that all her hopes of Russian assistance were frustrated, as England was joined with Prussia to counteract her intentions. Thus deprived of one ally, she sought about, in order to substitute another. She applied to France for that purpose; and to procure their friendship gave up her barrier in the Netherlands, which England had been for ages securing against that power with its blood and its treasures. By this extraordinary revolution the whole political system of Europe acquired a new aspect, and the treaties of a century were at one blow rendered ineffectual.

This treaty between France and Austria was no sooner ratified, than the czarina was invited to accede; and she, unmindful of her subsidies from England, ardently embraced the proposal. A settlement in the western parts of Europe was what that state had long desired, as this fierce northern empire could then pour down fresh forces at any time upon the southern powers, exhausted by luxury, and mutual contention. And not Russia alone, but Sweden also, was brought to accede by the intrigues of France; and a war between that nation and Prussia was entered upon, though contrary to the inclinations of the kings of either state.

Thus the forces of the contending powers were drawn out in the following manner. England opposed France in America, Asia, and on the ocean. France attacked Hanover on the continent of Europe. This country the king of Prussia undertook to protect; while England promised him troops and money to assist his operations. Then again Austria had their aims on the dominions of Prussia, and drew the elector of Saxony into the same designs. In these views she was seconded by France, Sweden, and Russia. Such were the different combinations, which were formed to begin the general war, while the rest of the powers continued anxious spectators of the contention.

The preparations for war were first begun on the side of Austria, who had engaged the elector of Saxony in the general dispute.

Great

Great armaments were set on foot in Moravia and Bohemia, while the elector of Saxony, under a pretence of military parade, drew together about sixteen thousand men, which were posted strongly at Pirna. But the intent of these preparations was soon perceived by the vigilant king of Prussia; and he ordered his minister at the court of Vienna to demand a clear explanation. To this demand he received only an evasive answer. He therefore, thought proper to suspend all negotiations, and to carry the war into the enemies country, rather than to wait for it in his own.

He accordingly entered Saxony with a large army, and, in the usual strain of civility, desired from the elector a passage through his dominions, which he knew he was not able to refuse. In the mean time, he disguised his suspicions of the elector's having entered into a secret treaty with his enemies; and to carry on the deceit, intreated, that as the elector's troops were totally unnecessary, he would disband them for the present, as he could not possibly have any occasion for their services.

This was a proposal the elector neither expected, nor was willing to comply with. He rejected it with disdain; and the king resolved to turn the occurrence to his own advantage. Such was the situation of the Saxon camp, that though a small army could defend it against the most numerous forces, yet the same difficulty attended the quitting it, that impeded the enemy from storming it. Of this, his

his Prussian majesty took the advantage ; and by blocking up every avenue, he cut off the provisions of the Saxon army, and the whole body was soon reduced to capitulate. He took care to incorporate the common soldiers into his own army ; and the officers who refused to serve under him, he made prisoners of war.

The king of Prussia thus launched into a war, with all the most potent states of Europe against him, and England only in alliance, went forward with a vigour that exceeded what history can shew. King only of a very small territory, and assisted by an ally, whose situation was too remote to give him any considerable succours, attacked and surrounded by his enemies, he still opposed them on every side, invades Bohemia, defeats the Austrian general at Lowoscutch, retreats, begins his second campaign with another victory near Prague, is upon the point of taking that city, but through a temerity inspired by success, suffers a defeat at Kolin. Still, however, unconquered, " Fortune, said he, has turned her back upon me this day. I ought to have expected it. Success often occasions a destructive confidence. Another time will do better." We have instances of thousands who gained battles ; but no general before him acknowledged his errors, except Cæsar.

One disaster followed upon the back of another. The Hanoverians, had armed in his favour, and were commanded by the duke of

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Cumberland, who appeared, from the beginning, sensible of the insufficiency of his troops to face the enemy, by whom he was greatly out-numbered. The Hanoverian army, was driven from one part of the country to another, till at length it made a stand near a village called the Hastenback, where it was hoped the numbers of the enemy would have the least opportunity of coming to a general action. However, the weaker army was still obliged to retire; and after a feeble effort left the field of battle to the French, who were not remiss in the pursuit. The Hanoverians retired towards Stalde, by which means they marched into a country, from whence they could neither procure provisions, nor yet attack the enemy with hopes of success. Unable, therefore, to escape, they were compelled to sign a capitulation, by which the whole body laid down their arms, and were dispersed into different quarters of cantonment. By this remarkable capitulation, which was called the treaty of Closter Seven, Hanover was obliged to submit peaceably to the French, who now were determined to turn upon the king of Prussia with undiminished forces.

The situation of this monarch was desperate, nor could human foresight discover how he could extricate himself. The French forces, now united, invaded his dominions on one side, commanded by marshal Broglio. The Russians, who for some time had hovered over him, under the conduct of general Apraxin, all at once hastened onward to overwhelm him,

him, marking their way with slaughter and cruelty. A large body of Austrians entered Silesia; and penetrating as far as Breslau, turned to the strong fortress of Schweidnitz, which, after an obstinate defence, they obliged to surrender. Another army of the same power entered Lusatia, made themselves master of Zittau, and, pressing forward, laid the capital of Berlin under contribution. On another quarter, a body of twenty two thousand Swedes pierced into Prussian Pomerania, took the towns of Anclam and Demmein, and exacted tribute from the whole country. In this multitude of invaders, it was in vain that the king of Prussia faced about to every incursion, though his enemies fled before him; while he pursued one body, another penetrated from behind, and even while he was victorious, his territories were every day diminishing. The greatest part of his dominions was laid under contribution, most of his strongest cities were taken, and he had no resources but in the generosity of a British parliament, and his own extensive abilities.

The succours of the English could be of very little advantage to him, particularly as the Hanoverians were restrained by treaty from acting in his favour. The ministry, however, planned an enterprize against the coasts of France, which, by causing a diversion, would draw off the attention of the enemy from Prussia, and give that monarch time to respire. England also hoped to give a blow to their marine, by destroying such ships

ships as were building, or were laid up in the harbour of Rochford, against which city their operations were principally intended. The English ministry kept the object of the enterprize a profound secret; and France was for some time filled with apprehensions, till at length the fleet appeared before Rochford, where the commanders spent some time in deliberating how to proceed. After some consultation, it was determined to secure the little island of Aix, an easy conquest, and of no benefit to the invaders. In the mean time, the militia of the country, recovering from their consternation, had leisure to assemble, and there was the appearance of two camps upon shore. The commanders took into consideration the badness of the coast, the danger of landing, the time the city had been preparing for defence, and their own unsuitness to reduce it by any other means but a sudden attack. This induced them to desist from further operations; and they returned home, without making any effort.

From this expedition, therefore, the king of Prussia reaped but very little advantage; and the despondence among the English was so great, that the ministry had thoughts of giving up his cause entirely. The king of England was actually meditating on this, when his distressed ally expostulated with him to the following purpose. "Is it possible, that your majesty can have so little fortitude and constancy as to be dispirited by a small reverse of fortune? Consider the step you
" have

“ have made me undertake, and remember
 “ you are the cause of all my misfortunes.
 “ I should never have abandoned my former
 “ alliances, but for your flattering assurances.
 “ I do not now repent of the treaty concluded
 “ between us; but I intreat that you will
 “ not ingloriously leave me at the mercy of
 “ my enemies, after having brought upon
 “ me all the powers of Europe.” In this
 terrible situation, England resolved, more
 from motives of generosity than of interest,
 to support his declining cause; and success
 that had for a long time fled her arms, once
 more began to return with double splendour.

The East was the quarter on which success
 first began to dawn upon the British arms.
 The war in our Asiatic territories had never
 been wholly suspended. It was carried on at
 first by both nations, under the colour of
 lending assistance to the contending chiefs of
 the country, but the allies soon became the
 principals. This war at first, and for a long
 time after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, was
 carried on with doubtful success; but at length
 the affairs of the English seemed to gain the
 ascendancy, by the conduct of Mr. Clive.
 This gentleman had at first entered the com-
 pany's service in a civil capacity, but finding
 his talents more adapted for war, he gave
 up his clerkship, and joined the troops as a
 volunteer. His courage soon became remark-
 able, and his conduct and military skill soon
 after raised him to the first rank in the army.

The

The first advantage obtained, was the clearing the province of Arcot. Soon after, the French general was taken prisoner; and the nabob, whom the English supported, was re-instated in the government, of which he had formerly been deprived.

The French, sensible of their own inferiority in this part of the globe, sent over a commissary to Europe to restore peace. A convention between the two companies was concluded, importing, that the territories taken on either side since the conclusion of the last peace should be restored; that the nabobs advanced by the influence of either party should be acknowledged by both; and that for the future neither should interfere in the differences that should arise between the princes of the country.

This cessation, which promised such lasting tranquility, was, nevertheless, but of short duration. Compacts made between trading companies can never be of long continuance, when advantage is opposed to good faith. In a few months both sides renewed their operations, as rivals in arms, in government, and in commerce. What the motives to this infraction were, are not sufficiently known; but certain it is, that the prince of the greatest power in that country declared war against the English, and, levying a numerous army, laid siege to Calcutta, one of the principal British forts in that part of the world; but which was not in a state to defend itself against the attack of even barbarians.

The fort was taken, and the garrison, to the number of an hundred and forty-six persons, were made prisoners.

They expected the usual treatment of prisoners of war, but soon found what mercy was to be expected from a savage conqueror. They were all crowded together into a narrow prison, called the Black Hole, of about eighteen feet square, and receiving air only by two small iron windows. It is terrible to reflect on the situation of these unfortunate men, shut up in this narrow place, in that burning climate, and suffocating each other. Their first efforts, upon perceiving the effects of their horrid confinement, were to break open the door of the prison; but as it opened inward, they soon found that impossible. They next endeavoured to move the guard, by offering him a large sum of money to remove them to separate prisons; but the viceroy was asleep, and no person dared to disturb him. They were now, therefore, left to die without hopes of relief; and the whole prison was filled with groans, shrieks, and despair. This, soon after sunk into a calm, still more hideous; their efforts were over, and an expiring languor succeeded. In the morning, when the keepers came to visit the prison, all was horror, silence, and desolation. Of an hundred and forty-six who had entered alive, twenty-three only survived, and of these the greatest part died of putrid fevers upon being set free.

The destruction of this important fortress served to interrupt the prosperous successes of the

the English. But Mr. Clive, backed by an English fleet under admiral Watson, still turned the scale in their favour. Among the number of those who felt the power of the English was the famous Tullagee Angria; a piratical prince, who had long infested the Indian ocean, and made the princes on the coast his tributaries. He maintained a large number of gallies, attacked the largest ships, and almost ever with success. As the company had been greatly harrassed by his depredations, they resolved to attack him in his own fortress. In pursuance of this resolution, admiral Watson and colonel Clive sailed into his harbour of Geriah; and though they sustained a warm fire they soon threw all his fleet into flames, and obliged his fort to surrender at discretion. The conquerors found there a large quantity of warlike stores, and effects to a considerable value.

From this conquest colonel Clive proceeded to take revenge for the cruelty practised upon the English at Calcutta; and about the beginning of December arrived at Balasore, in the kingdom of Bengal. He met with little opposition, till they came before Calcutta, which seemed resolved to stand a regular siege. As soon as the admiral, with two ships, arrived before the town, he received a furious fire from all the batteries, which he soon returned, and in less than two hours obliged them to abandon their fortifications. By these means the English took possession of the two strongest settlements on the banks of

the Ganges; and that of Geriah they demolished to the ground.

Soon after these successes, Hugly, a city of great trade, was reduced with as little difficulty as the former; and all the viceroy of Bengal's store-houses and granaries were destroyed. In order to repair these losses, this prince assembled an army of ten thousand horse, and fifteen thousand foot, and professed a firm resolution of expelling the English from all their settlements in that part of the world. Upon the first intelligence of his march, colonel Clive obtaining a reinforcement of men from the admiral's ships, advanced with his little army to attack these numerous forces. He attacked the enemy in three columns; and though the numbers were so disproportioned, victory soon declared in favour of the English. This, as well as several other victories gained by this commander against such a numerous enemy, teach us no longer to wonder at those conquests which were gained formerly by European troops over this weak and effeminate people. Indeed, what can slavish Asiatic troops do against an army, however small, hardened by discipline? All the customs, habits, and opinions of the Asiatics, tend to effeminate the body and dispirit the mind. When we conceive a body of men led up to the attack dressed in long silken garments, with no other courage than what opium can inspire, no other fears from a defeat, but that of changing their tyrant, with their chief commander mounted

mounted on an elephant, and consequently a more conspicuous object of aim, their artillery drawn by oxen, impatient and furious on the slightest wound, every soldier among them unacquainted with cool intrepidity, and only fighting by the same fury that raises their passions; if we consider all these circumstances, we shall not be surprized at European victories, and that two or three thousand men are able to defeat the largest armies they can bring into the field. All the heroism of an Alexander, in this view will sink in our esteem, and no longer continue the object of admiration.

A victory so easily acquired by a small body of foreigners rendered the viceroy contemptible to his subjects at home. His cowardice now made him despicable, and his former cruelty odious. A conspiracy, therefore, was projected against him by Ali Kan his prime minister; and the English having intimations of the design, resolved to second it. Accordingly, colonel Clive marched forward, and soon came up with the viceroy, who had by this time recruited his army. After a short contest, however, the whole Indian army was put to flight, and routed with terrible slaughter. Ali Kan had hitherto concealed his attachments to the English, till he saw there was no danger from his perfidy. He then openly espoused the side of the conquerors, and was solemnly proclaimed by colonel Clive viceroy of Bengal, Rahar, and Orixas, in the room of the former nabob, who was

solemnly deposed, and soon after put to death by his perfidious successor.

The English having placed a viceroy on the throne (for the Mogul had long lost all power in India) they took care to exact such stipulations, as would secure them the possession of the country whenever they thought proper to resume their authority.

From the conquest of the Indians, colonel Clive turned to the humbling of the French, who had long disputed empire in that part of the world. Chadenagore, a French settlement higher up the Ganges than Calcutta, was compelled to submit to the English arms. The goods and money found in this place were considerable; but the chief damage the French sustained, was from the ruin of this their chief settlement on the Ganges, by which they had long divided the commerce of this part of the continent. Thus in one campaign, the English became possessed of a territory superior in wealth, fertility, extent, and the number of its inhabitants, to any part of Europe. Above two millions sterling were paid to the company and the survivors of the imprisonment at Calcutta; the soldiers and seamen shared six hundred thousand pounds, and the English power became irresistible in that part of the world.

This success was not a little alarming to the French ministry. To make some opposition, they sent out a considerable reinforcement under the command of general Lally, an Irishman, from whose great experience sanguine

sanguine hopes were conceived. Lally was one of the bravest soldiers in the French service, but the most unfit man in the world to be connected with a trading company, as he was fierce, proud, and precipitate, not without a mixture of avarice.

Under the guidance of this whimsical man, the affairs of the French for some time wore a face of success. He took from the English their settlement of fort St. David's, and plundered the country of the king of Tanjour, in alliance with them. He then entered the province of Arcot, and prepared for laying siege to Madras, the chief settlement of the English on the coast of Coromandel. In the siege of this important place, greater difficulties presented than he had expected. The artillery of the garrison was well managed, while the French soldiers acted with the greatest timidity; nor did even the council of Pondicherry second the ardour of the general. It was in vain that Lally attempted to lead on his men to a breach that had been practicable for several days; it continued open for a fortnight, and not one dared to venture the assault. To add to his embarrassments, he was ill supplied with provisions, and found the garrison had received a reinforcement. Despairing, therefore, of success, he raised the siege, and this so intimidated his troops, that they seemed quite dispirited in every succeeding operation.

But while success was thus doubtful between the two nations, a rupture seemed to be in
pre-

preparation where the English least expected. The Dutch, under pretence of reinforcing their garrisons in Bengal, equipped a strong armament of seven ships, which was ordered to sail up the Ganges, and render their fort at Chincura so formidable as to exclude all other nations from the salt-petre trade, which was carried on there, and thus monopolize so beneficial a commodity.

This design, colonel Clive thought proper to oppose. He accordingly sent the Dutch commander a letter, informing him that he could not permit his landing, and marching his forces to the fort intended, as he foresaw that it would be detrimental to the commerce of Europe. To this message the Dutchman replied, that he had no designs of a monopoly, and only requested the liberty to land and refresh his troops; which request, so seemingly reasonable, was quickly granted. However, the Dutch commander continued submissive no longer than he was unable to act with vigour; for as soon as he knew that the ships which were to second his operations were come up the river, he boldly began his march to Chincura, and took several small vessels belonging to the English in his passage up the river.

Whether the Calcutta Indiaman was sent out to oppose the Dutch, or whether it was only pursuing its voyage down the river to England, is not known; but certain it is, that she was prevented by the Dutch commander from going onward, and obliged to return.

return to Culcutta with the complaints of this treatment to colonel Clive. The colonel was not slow in vindicating the honour of his country; and as there happened to be three India ships at that time in the harbour, he gave them instant orders to meet the Dutch fleet, and sink them if they offered to resist. This command was obeyed with great alacrity; but after a few broad-sides on either side, the Dutch commander struck, and the rest of the fleet followed his example. The victory thus obtained, without any great damage, captain Wilson, who commanded in the expedition, took possession of the fleet of the enemy, and sent their men prisoners to the English fort; while about the same time their land forces were defeated by colonel Ford, sent by Clive upon that duty. This contest had like to have produced a new rupture in that part of the world; but a negotiation soon after ensuing, the Dutch wisely gave way to a power they were not able to withstand.

In the mean time the operations against the French were carried on with much more success. The troops headed by colonel Coote, a native of Ireland, and possessed of prudence and bravery, marched against general Lally, resolved to come to a decisive engagement. On his march he took the city of Wandewash; he afterwards reduced the fortress of Carangoly; and at length came up with the French general, who had no thoughts of declining the engagement. Early in the morning

ing the French advanced within three quarters of a mile of the English line, and the cannonading began with great fury on both sides. The engagement continued with great obstinacy till about two in the afternoon, when the French gave way, and fled towards their camp, which they as quickly abandoned, leaving their baggage, cannon, and the field of battle to the conquerors.

The retaking the city of Arcot, was the consequence of this victory; and nothing now remained to the French, of all their former dominions in India, but the strong town of Pondicherry, their largest and most beautiful settlement. This city, which was the capital of the French establishments in India, exceeded, in the days of its prosperity, all other European factories there, in trade, opulence and splendour; and whatever wealth the French still possessed, after repeated losses, was deposited there.

As soon as the fortresses adjacent were reduced, colonel Coote sat down before the city, determined to blockade it by land, while admiral Stevens shut up the harbour by sea. A regular siege was at that time impracticable, from the periodical rains, which in that climate would not fail soon to obstruct all such operations. However, neither the rains nor the inclemency of the climate, were able to abate the ardour of the besiegers; the blockade was continued, and the garrison was pressed in such a manner, that it was reduced to extreme distress. The French soldiers were obliged

obliged, to feed on dogs and cats; however, Lally was determined to hold out to the last. In the midst of the garrison's distress, there was an opportunity of relief, had it been seized with vigour. One of those terrible tempests, common in that climate, wrecked a large part of the English fleet that was blocking up the harbour. Lally wrote the most pressing letters to the French residents at the Dutch settlements, to be supplied with provisions; but to his mortification, instead of seeing the French boats coming to his relief, he only saw, in less than four days, the English admiral again entering the harbour, having repaired the damage he had lately sustained. Lally, however, still determined to hold out; and with a savage obstinacy saw his troops half consuming with fatigue and famine round him. At length, finding that a breach had been made in the rampart, and that no more than one day's provision remained, he permitted a signal to be made for ceasing hostilities. Yet still the strong perverseness of his temper continued; he sent a paper filled with reproaches against the English; he alleged that he would not treat upon honourable terms with an enemy that had transgressed all the laws of honour. He surrendered the place not in his own person, but permitted some under officers in the garrison to do it. This conquest put an end to the power of France in India. The chief part of the territory and trade of that vast peninsula, from the Indus to the Ganges, was annexed to the British

British empire. The princes of the country, after some vain opposition to the English power, were at length contented to submit; and the whole country has since continued our own.

In the mean time, while conquest shined upon us from the East, it was still more splendid in the western world. Some alterations in the ministry, led to those successes which had been long wished for by the nation. The affairs of war had been hitherto directed by a ministry, but ill supported by the commons, because not confided in by the people. They seemed timid and wavering; and held together, rather by their fears than their mutual confidence. When any new measure was proposed, which did not receive their approbation, or any new member was introduced into government whom they did not appoint, they considered it as an infringement upon their respective departments, and threw up their places in disgust, with a view to resume them with greater lustre. Thus the strength of the crown was every day declining, while an aristocracy filled up every avenue to the throne, intent only on the emoluments, not the duties of office.

This was at that time the general opinion of the people, and it was too loud not to reach the throne. The ministry that had hitherto hedged in the throne, were at length obliged to admit some men into a share of the government, whose activity at least would counterbalance their timidity and irresolution. At the

the head of the newly introduced party, was Mr. William Pitt, from whose vigour the nation formed great expectations.

But though the old ministers were obliged to admit these new members into their society, there was no legal penalty for refusing to operate with them; they therefore associated with each other, and used every art to make their new assistants obnoxious to the king, upon whom they had been in a manner forced by the people. His former ministry flattered him in all his attachments to his German dominions, while the new had long clamoured against all continental connexions, as utterly incompatible with the interest of the nation. The king was naturally led to side with those who favoured his own sentiments. Mr. Pitt, therefore, after being a few months in office, was ordered to resign by his majesty's command; and his coadjutor, Mr. Legge, was displaced from being chancellor of the exchequer. But this blow was but of short continuance; the whole nation, almost to a man, rose up in his defence, and Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, were once more reluctantly restored to their former employments, the one of secretary of state, the other of chancellor of the exchequer.

The consequences of the former ill conducted counsels still seemed to continue in America. The generals sent over to manage the war, loudly accused the timidity and delays of the natives. The natives, on the other hand, as warmly expostulated against

the pride, avarice, and incapacity of those sent over to command them. General Shirley, who had been appointed to the supreme command there, had been for some time recalled, and replaced by Lord Loudon; and this nobleman also soon after returning to England, three several commanders were put at the head of separate operations. General Amherst commanded that designed against the island of Cape Breton. The other was assigned to general Abercrombie, against Crown Point and Ticonderago; and the third still more south, against fort du Quesne, commanded by brigadier-general Forbes.

Cape Breton, which had been taken from the French during the preceding war, had been restored at the treaty of Aix la Chapelle. It was not till the English had been put in possession of that island, that they began to perceive its advantageous situation; and the convenience of its harbour for annoying the British trade with impunity. It was also a convenient port for carrying on their fishery, a branch of commerce of the utmost benefit to that nation. The wresting it, therefore, once more from the hands of the French, was a measure ardently desired by the whole nation. The fortress of Louisburg by which it was defended, had been much strengthened, and was also defended by the nature of its situation. The garrison was numerous, the commander vigilant, and every precaution taken to oppose a landing. But the English surmounted every obstacle with great

intrepidity. Their former timidity and irresolution seemed to vanish; their natural courage and confidence returned, and the place surrendered by capitulation. The fortifications were soon after demolished, and rendered unfit for future defence.

The expedition to Fort du Quesne was equally successful; but that against Crow Point was once more defeated. This was now the second time that the English army had attempted to penetrate into those hideous wilds; by which nature had secured the French possessions in that part of the world. Braddock fell in the attempt, a martyr to his impetuosity; too much caution was equally injurious to his successor. Abercrombie spent much time in marching to the place of action; and the enemy were thus perfectly prepared to give him a severe reception. As he approached Ticonderago, he found them deeply intrenched at the foot of the fort, and still farther secured by fallen trees, with their branches pointing against him. These difficulties the English ardour attempted to surmount; but as the enemy being secure themselves, took aim at leisure, a terrible carnage of the assailants ensued; and the general, after repeated efforts, was obliged to order a retreat. The English army, however, was still superior; and it was supposed that when the artillery was arrived, something more successful might be performed; but the general felt too sensibly the late defeat to remain in the neighbourhood of a triumphant

A a 2.

enemy

enemy. He therefore withdrew his troops, and returned to his camp at Lake George, from whence he had taken his departure.

But though in this respect the English arms were unsuccessful, yet upon the whole the campaign was greatly in their favour. The taking of Fort du Quesne served to remove from their colonies the terror of the incursions of the Indians, while it interrupted that correspondence which ran along a chain of forts, with which the French had invironed the English settlements in America. This promised a fortunate campaign the next year, and vigorous measures were taken to ensure success.

Accordingly, on the opening of the following year, the ministry, sensible that a single effort carried on in such an extensive country, could never reduce the enemy, resolved to attack them in several parts of their empire at once. Preparations were accordingly made, and expeditions driven forward against three different parts of North America at the same time. General Amherst, the commander in chief, with a body of twelve thousand men, was to attack Crown Point, that had hitherto been the reproach of the English army. General Wolfe was at the opposite quarter to enter the river St. Lawrence, and undertake the siege of Quebec, the capital of the French dominions in America; while general Prideaux, and Sir William Johnson, were to attempt a French fort, near the cataracts of Niagara.

The

The last named expedition was the first that succeeded. The fort of Niagara was a place of great importance, and served to command all the communication between the northern and western French settlements. The siege was begun with vigour, and promised an easy conquest; but general Prideaux was killed in the trenches, by the bursting of a mortar; so that the whole command of the expedition devolved upon general Johnson. He omitted nothing to push forward the vigorous operations of his predecessor, to which also he added his own popularity with the soldiers. A body of French troops, who were sensible of the importance of this fort, attempted to relieve it; but Johnson attacked them with intrepidity, and in less than an hour their whole army was put to the rout. The garrison soon after perceiving the fate of their countrymen, surrendered prisoners of war. The success of general Amherst was less splendid, though not less serviceable. Upon arriving at the destined place, he found the forts both of Crown Point and Ticonderago deserted and destroyed.

There now remained but one grand and decisive blow to put all North America into the possession of the English; and this was the taking of Quebec, the capital of Canada, a city handsomely built, populous, and flourishing. Admiral Saunders was appointed to command the naval part of the expedition; the siege by land was committed to the conduct of general Wolfe, of whom the nation

had great expectations. This young soldier, who was not yet thirty-five, had distinguished himself on many former occasions, particularly at the siege of Louisburg; * a part of the success of which was justly ascribed to him, who, without being indebted to family or connexions, had raised himself by merit to his present command.

The war in this part of the world had been hitherto carried on with extreme barbarity; and retaliating murders were continued without any one's knowing who first began. Wolfe, however, disdained to imitate an example that had been set him even by some of his associate officers; he carried on the war with all the spirit of humanity which it admits of. He now advanced towards Quebec. When we consider the situation of the town, on the side of a great river, the fortifications with which it was secured, its natural strength, the great number of vessels and floating batteries provided for the defence of the river, the numerous bodies of savages continually hovering round the English army, we must own there was such a combination of difficulties, as might discourage the most resolute commander. The general himself seemed perfectly sensible of the difficulty of the undertaking. After stating, in a letter to the ministry, the dangers that presented, "I know, said he, that the affairs of Great Britain require the most vigorous measures. But then the courage of an handful of brave men should be exerted only where there

“ there is some hope of a favourable event.

“ At present the difficulties are so various,
“ that I am at a loss how to determine.”

The only prospect of attempting the town with success was by landing a body of troops in the night below the town, who were to clamber up the banks of the river, and take possession of the ground on the back of the city. This attempt, however, appeared peculiarly discouraging. The stream was rapid, the shore shelving, the bank above lined with centinels, the landing-place so narrow as to be easily missed in the dark, and the steepness of the ground such as hardly to be surmounted in the day time. All these difficulties, however, were surmounted by the conduct of the general, and the bravery of the men. Colonel Howe, with the light infantry and the Highlanders, ascended the woody precipices with admirable courage, and activity, and dislodged a small body of troops that defended a narrow path-way up the bank; thus a few mounting, the general drew the rest up in order as they arrived. Monsieur de Montcalm, the French commander, was no sooner apprized that the English had gained these heights, which he had confidently deemed inaccessible, than he resolved to hazard a battle; and a furious encounter quickly began. This was one of the most desperate engagements during this war. The French general was slain; the second in command shared the same fate. General Wolfe was stationed on the right, where the
attack

attack was most warm; as he stood conspicuous in the front line, he had been aimed at by the enemies marksmen, and received a shot in the wrist, which, however, did not oblige him to quit the field. Having wrapped an handkerchief round his hand, he continued giving orders without the least emotion, and advanced at the head of the grenadiers with their bayonets fixed; but a second ball pierced his breast; so that unable to proceed, he leaned on the shoulder of a soldier that was next him. Now struggling in the agonies of death, he heard a voice cry, They run! upon which he seemed for a moment to revive, and asking who ran, was informed the French. Expressing his wonder that they ran so soon, he sunk on the soldier's breast, and his last words were, "I die happy." Perhaps the loss of the English that day was greater than the conquest of Canada counterbalanced. But it is the lot of mankind only to know true merit, when they are going to lose it.

The surrender of Quebec was the consequence of this victory: and with it soon after the total cession of all Canada. The French, indeed, the following season made a vigorous effort to retake the city; but by the resolution of governor Murray, and the appearance of an English fleet under the command of lord Colville, they were obliged to abandon the enterprize. The whole province was soon after reduced by the prudence and activity of general Amherst, who obliged the French

French army to capitulate, and it has since remained annexed to the British empire. To these conquests about the same time was added the reduction of the island of Gaudalupe, but it was restored at the succeeding peace.

These successes in India and America were expensive, but successful: on the contrary, the efforts the English made in Europe, and the operations of their great ally, the king of Prussia, were astonishing, yet produced no signal advantages. A defensive war in Germany was all that could be expected; and that he maintained against the united powers of the continent with unexampled bravery. We left the French and Imperialists triumphing in repeated successes, and enjoying the fruits of an advantageous summer-campaign. But as if summer was not sufficient for the horrors of war, they now resolved to exert them even amidst the rigours of winter, and in the depth of that season set down and formed the siege of Leipzig. The capture of that city would have been fatal to the interests of the king; and by one of those rapid marches, for which he was remarkable, he seemed with his army, unexpectedly to rise up before the town. Such was the terror of his arms, that even vanquished as he seemed, the French, though superior in numbers, raised the siege, and retreated. He was resolved to pursue, and at length overtook them at a village called Rossbach, where he gained so complete a victory, that night alone saved their whole army from destruction.

In the mean time, the Austrians in another part of the empire, were victorious, and took the prince of Bevern, the king of Prussia's generalissimo, prisoner. The king having just fought the French, again undertook a dreadful march of two hundred miles in the depth of winter, and came up with the Austrian army near Breslau. He there disposed his forces with his usual celerity and judgment, and obtained another bloody victory, in which he took fifteen thousand prisoners. Breslau, with a garrison of ten thousand men, surrendered soon after. These successes dispirited the enemy, and gave his Hanoverian allies fresh hopes, of being able to expel the French troops from their territories.

Soon after the capitulation of Closter Seven had been signed between the duke of Cumberland, and the duke of Richelieu, both sides began to complain that the treaty was not strictly observed. The Hanoverians exclaimed against the rapacity of the French general, and the brutality of his soldiers. The French accused them of insolence and insurrection, and resolved to bind them strictly to terms, sensible of their own superiority. Treaties between nations are seldom observed any longer than interest or fear obliges: and among nations that take every advantage, political faith is a term without meaning. The Hanoverians only wanted a pretext to take arms, and a general to head them. Neither were long wanting. The oppressions of the tax-gatherers, whom the French had appointed, were so severe, that the army once
more

more rose to vindicate their freedom, while Ferdinand prince of Brunfwick, put himself at their head.

Nothing could be more fortunate for the interests of the king of Prussia than this sudden insurrection of the Hanoverian forces. From this time he began to oppose the enemy upon more equal terms; he faced them on every side, often victorious, sometimes repulsed, but ever formidable. Never was the art of war carried to such a pitch as by him, and it must be added, its horrors also. In this war, Europe saw, with astonishment, campaigns carried on in the midst of winter, great and bloody battles fought, yet producing no visible advantage to the victors. At no time since the days of heroism, were such numbers destroyed, so many towns taken, so many skirmishes fought, such stratagems practised, or such intrepidity discovered. Armies were, by the German discipline, considered as composing one great machine, directed by one commander, and animated by a single will. From these campaigns, succeeding generals will take their lessons of devastation, and improve upon the arts of increasing human calamity.

England was all this time happily retired from the miseries which oppressed the rest of Europe; yet from her natural military ardour she seemed desirous of sharing those dangers, of which she was only a spectator. This passion for sharing in a continental war was not less pleasing to the king of England, from

from his native attachments, than from a desire of revenge upon the plunderers of his country. As soon, therefore, as it was known that prince Ferdinand had put himself at the head of the Hanoverian army, his Britannic majesty, in a speech to his parliament, observed, that the late successes of his ally in Germany had given an happy turn to his affairs, which it would be necessary to improve. The commons concurred in his sentiments, and granted supplies both for the king of Prussia, and for enabling the army formed in Hanover to act vigorously in conjunction with him.

From sending money over into Germany, the nation began to extend their benefits; and it was soon considered that men would be a more grateful supply. Mr. Pitt, who had at first come into popularity by opposing such measures now entered into them with greater ardour than any of his predecessors. The hopes of putting a speedy end to the war by vigorous measures, the connexions with which he was obliged to co-operate, and perhaps the pleasure he found in pleasing the king, incited him eagerly to push forward a continental war. However, he only conspired with the general inclinations of the people, who, allured by the noble efforts of their only ally, were unwilling to see him fall a sacrifice to the united ambition of his enemies.

In order to indulge this general inclination of assisting the king of Prussia, the duke of Marlborough was at first sent into Germany

with

with a small body of British forces to join with prince Ferdinand, whose activity against the French began to be crowned with success. After some small successes gained by the allied army, the duke of Marlborough dying, his command devolved upon lord George Sackville. Soon after, both armies advancing near the town of Minden, the French infantry giving ground, the prince thought that this would be a favourable opportunity to pour down the horse among them, and accordingly sent lord George orders to come on. These orders were not obeyed; lord George shortly after was recalled, tried by a court-martial, found guilty, and declared incapable of serving in any military command for the future. The enemy, however, were repulsed in all their attacks with considerable loss, and at length giving way were pursued to the very ramparts of Minden. The victory was splendid, but laurels were the only advantage reaped from the field of battle.

After these victories, it was supposed one reinforcement more would terminate the war; and a reinforcement was quickly sent. The British army in Germany, now, therefore, amounted to above thirty thousand men, and the whole nation was flushed with the hopes of immediate conquest. But these hopes soon vanished in finding victory and defeat following each other. The successes on either side might be considered as a compact by which both engaged to lose much, and gain little; for no advantages whatever followed from victory. The English at length began to open

their eyes, and found that they were waging unequal war, and loading themselves with taxes for conquests, which they could neither preserve nor enjoy.

It must be confessed, that the efforts of England, at this time, over every part of the globe, were amazing; and the expence of her operations greater than had ever been disbursed by any nation before. The king of Prussia received a subsidy; a large body of English forces commanded the extensive peninsula of India; another army of twenty thousand men confirmed their conquest in North America; there were thirty thousand men employed in Germany, and several other bodies dispersed in the different garrisons in various parts of the world; but all these were nothing to the force maintained at sea, which carried command wherever it came, and had totally annihilated the French power on that element. The courage and the conduct of the English admirals had surpassed whatever had been read of in history; neither superior force, nor number, nor even the terrors of the tempest, could intimidate them. Admiral Hawke gained a compleat victory over an equal number of French ships, on the coast of Bretagne in Quiberon bay, in the midst of a tempest, during the darkness of the night, and what seamen fear still more, upon a rocky shore.

Such was the glorious figure the British nation appeared in to all the world at this time. But while their arms prospered in every

every effort tending to the real interests of the nation, an event happened, which for a while obscured the splendour of her victories. On the twenty-fifth of October, the king, without having complained of any previous disorder, was found, by his domestics, expiring in his chamber. He had arisen at his usual hour, and observed to his attendants, that as the weather was fine he would take a walk in the gardens of Kensington, where he then resided. In a few minutes after his return, being left alone, he was heard to fall down upon the floor. The noise of this bringing his attendants into the room, they lifted him into bed, where he desired, with a faint voice, that the princess Amelia might be sent for, but before she could reach the apartment he expired. An attempt was made to bleed him, but without effect; and afterwards, the surgeons, upon opening him, discovered that the right ventricle of the heart was actually burst, and that a great quantity of blood was discharged through the aperture.

* George the second died in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign; lamented by his subjects, and in the midst of victory. If any monarch was happy in the peculiar mode of his death, and the precise time of its arrival, it was he. The factions which had been nursing during his long reign, had not yet come to maturity; but threatened, with all their virulence, to afflict his successor.

B b 2

“ On

* Oct. 25. A. D. 1760.

“ On whatever side, says a late writer, we
 “ look upon his character, we shall find am-
 “ ple matter for just and unsuspected praise.
 “ None of his predecessors on the throne of
 “ England, lived to so great an age, or en-
 “ joyed longer felicity. His subjects were
 “ still improving under him, in commerce
 “ and arts; and his own œconomy set a pru-
 “ dent example to the nation, which, how-
 “ ever, they did not follow. He was, in his
 “ temper, sudden and violent; but this,
 “ though it influenced his conduct, made no
 “ change in his behaviour, which was gene-
 “ rally guided by reason. He was plain and
 “ direct in his intentions; true to his word,
 “ steady in his favour and protection to his
 “ servants, not parting even with his mini-
 “ sters till compelled to it by the violence of
 “ faction. In short, through the whole of
 “ his life he appeared rather to live for the
 “ cultivation of useful virtues than splendid
 “ ones; and satisfied with being good, left
 “ others their unenvied greatness.”

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...sums of money to carry on the war with France, 36—war with France continues the greatest part of his reign, 37—the French king, during war, he judges it needful to keep peace up during the peace, 38—alterations between him and parliament, continues during latter part of his reign, ib.—goes to Holland to consult his allies, concerning a war with France, 39—his death and character, 40—the king rejoices at the news of his death, 41.
Wolsey, cardinal, chief favourite of Henry VIII. ii. 35—advanced to the bishoprick of Lincoln, 36—title of legate conferred on him by the pope, 37—made chancellor, ib.—persuades the king to deliver up Tournay to the French, 38—impeaches the duke of Buckingham, 39—administration of all affairs carried on by him, 40—indicted by the attorney-general, 41—death, 42.
Wolsey, general, has the command of the English forces at the siege of Quebec, iv. 281—advances towards the town, 282—writes to the king concerning the difficulties of the undertaking, 283—summons all the difficulties, 283—receives another wound in his wrist, 284—receives another wound in his breast, ib.

York, Duke of, secretly foments dissensions, ii. 42—raises a body of ten thousand men, and marches to London, ib.—claims the crown, 43—flies to Ireland, 44—
Yorkist's cause is confirmed, ii. 45
York, duke of, defeats the Dutch admiral, iii. 269—engages the Dutch fleet, iii. 272